J. M. Gom
Ratton
Okla

James Milton Goin

Kattan Okla

Feb 10 1917

Finley Oklahoma
Feb. 15, 1920.

Big Cedar School Dist. #7

James Milton Goin

Entered army service ~~Aug~~ Sept. 6, 1917
Left camp Travis Sunday June , 1918
Went aboard the canada at
ny. city. June 18, 1918
Sailed June 20, 1918
arrived in Liverpool England July 1, 198

Debarked July 2nd, 1918 and
marched to camp Knotty Ash.
July 3rd marched out in country.
July 4th 358 Inf. Paraded before the
Lord Mayor of Liverpool England.
July 5th We went to South Hampto
July 6th we went aboard a channel
Ferry and crossed the channel
that night to France. La Harve
July. 7 Debarked at La Harve Fran
July 9 we went aboard a 40 homm
and 8 Chevaux.
July 12 we landed Racey sur
and marched to Menot. "Côté-dor."
Aug. 15th We left 35-8-90 our rainy area for
the front.

THE HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN PEOPLE

INTRODUCTORY ARTICLE ON "TRUE AMERICANISM" BY

THEODORE ROOSEVELT

FORMER PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

OTHER MATERIAL BY

JACOB H. PATTON
JOHN LORD
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
GEORGE F. HOAR
JAMES BRYCE
GROVER CLEVELAND
CHAS. A. DANA
HORACE PORTER
BENJ. F. TRACY
ROSSITER JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN
JOHN HAY
HERBERT WELCH
GEO. WM. CURTIS
HENRY W. GRADY
JOHN H. VINCENT
HENRY CABOT LODGE
WILLIAM J. JACKMAN

AND OTHERS

VOLUME II

THE L. W. WALTER COMPANY

CHICAGO

Copyright 1911
by the
L. W. Walter Company

CONTENTS.

VOLUME II.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR—CONTINUED.

William Pitt, Prime Minister, 300. Lord Amherst—Plan of Operations—Louisburg captured, 301. English repulsed—Fort Frontenac captured, 302. Washington takes Possession of Fort du Quesne, 303. Pittsburg, 304. The French abandon Ticonderoga, 305. Wolfe before Quebec, 306. The Battle on the Heights of Abraham, 308. Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm—their Memories, 309. Quebec Capitulates—Cherokee War, 310. Destruction of their Crops and Villages, 312. Pontiac, 313. Desolations along the Frontiers, 314. General Bouquet, 315. Pontiac's Death, 316.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONISTS.

Religious Influences among the early Settlers, 317. Love of domestic Life, 318. Laws enjoining Morality, 319. Systems of Education; Common Schools, 320. Free Inquiry and Civil Liberty, 321. John Calvin—The Anglo-Saxon Element; the Norman, 322. The Southerner; the Northerner—Influences in Pennsylvania, 323. In New York—Diversity of Ancestry, 324.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE REVOLUTION.

Restrictions on Trade and Manufactures—Taxes Imposed by Parliament, 326. Writs of Assistance, 327. James Otis—Samuel Adams, 328. The "Parsons'" Case in Virginia—Patrick Henry, 329. Colonel Barre's Speech—The Stamp Act, 331. Excitement in the Colonies—Resolutions not to use Stamps, 333. "Sons of Liberty," 334. A Call for a Congress; it Meets, 335. Self-Denial of the Colonists, 336. Stamp Act repealed—Rejoicings, 337.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAUSES THAT LED TO THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The English Ministry determine to obtain a Revenue, 339. The Sloop Liberty—A British Regiment at Boston, 341. Articles of Association proposed by Washington, 342. Tax upon Tea, 343. The Gaspé captured, 344. The Resolutions not to receive the Tea, 345. Tea Thrown into Boston Harbor—Its Reception at other Places, 347. Boston Port Bill—Aid Sent to Boston, 348. Gage's Difficulties, 349. Alexander Hamilton, 350. The Old Continental Congress—The first Prayer, 351. The Papers issued by the Congress, 353.

CHAPTER XXVII.

BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Spirit of the People, 355. They seize Guns and Ammunition, 356. The Massachusetts Provincial Congress; its Measures, 357. The Restraining Bill, 358. Conflicts at Lexington and Concord, 359. Volunteers fly to Arms, and Beleaguer Boston—Stark—Putnam, 361. Benedict Arnold—Ethan Allen, and the Green Mountain Boys, 362. Capture of Ticonderoga, 363. Lord Dunmore in Virginia—Henry and the Independent Companies, 364. The News from Lexington rouses a Spirit of Resistance, 365. The Second Continental Congress, 367. Its Measures, 368. Adopts the Army, and appoints Washington Commander-in-Chief, 369.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

Battle of Bunker Hill, 372. Death of Warren—Generals Charles Lee and Philip Schuyler, 377. State of Affairs in New York—Sir William Johnson, 378. Condition of the Army, 379. Nathaniel Greene—Morgan and his Riflemen, 380. Wants of the Army, 381. Expedition against Canada, 382. Richard Montgomery—Allen's Rash Adventure, 383. Montreal captured—Arnold's toilsome March to Quebec, 384. That place besieged, 385. Failure to Storm the Town—Death of Montgomery, 386. Arnold in his icy Fortress, 387.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Meeting of Congress—Alarming evils, 388. Portland burned—Efforts to defend the Coast, 389. Parliament resolves to crush the Rebels, 390. Henry Knox, 391. Provincial Prejudices—Success of the Privateers; British Theatricals; Union Flag, 393.

Affairs in New York—Rivington's Gazette, 394. Governor Tryon—General Lee in the City, 395. Dunmore's Measures—Norfolk burned, 396. Defeat of North Carolina Tories, 397. Cannon and powder obtained, 398. Dorchester Heights fortified—Boston evacuated, 400. Washington in New York, 402. Numerous Disasters—Retreat from Canada, 403. Horatio Gates, 404. A British Fleet before Fort Moultrie, 405. Stormy Prospects, 407.

CHAPTER XXX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Independence, Influences in favor of, 409. The Tories—Common Sense, 410. The Declaration; its Reception by the People and Army, 412. Arrival of Admiral Howe, 413. His Overtures, 414. The American Army—Sectional Jealousies, 415. The Clintons, 416. Battle of Long Island, 417. The Masterly Retreat, 420. Incidents, 421. Howe confers with a Committee of Congress, 422. Nathan Hale, 423. The British at Kipp's Bay, 424. New York Evacuated, 425. Conflict at White Plains, 426. Loss of Fort Washington, 428. Retreat across New Jersey, 429. Waywardness of Lee, 430.

CHAPTER XXXI.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Discouragements—Howe's Proclamation, 431. Affairs on Lake Champlain, 432. Heroism of Arnold, 433. Capture of Lee, 435. Battle of Trenton, 437. Battle of Princeton, 443. Death of Mercer, 444. Washington returns to Morristown, 445. Cornwallis in his lines at Brunswick, 445. Putnam at Princeton, 446. Ill-treatment of American Prisoners, 447. Appointment of General Officers—Medical Department, 448. The Navy, 449. Expeditions—Peekskill—Danbury, 449. Death of Wooster—Retaliation at Sag Harbor, 451. Schuyler and Gates, 452. The National Flag, 453.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Interest taken in England and France, 454. Privateers fitted out in France, 455. Munitions of War, 456. Howe's Manœuvres, 457. Burgoyne on his way from Canada, 457. Ticonderoga captured, 458. St. Clair's retreat, 459. Capture of General Prescott, 460. The Secret Expedition—Germantown, 461. Lafayette, Pulaski and Kosciusko, 462. Aid sent to Schuyler—Howe lands at Elkton, 464. Battle of Brandywine, 465. Philadelphia taken possession of, 468. Battle of Germantown, 469. Hessians repulsed at Fort Mercer, 470. Winter at Valley Forge, 471.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Invasion from Canada—Appointment of General Gates, 472. Jenny McCrea, 473. St. Leger besieges Fort Stanwix, 474. The Attempt to relieve it, 475. Battle of Bennington, 476. Change of Prospects, 477. Battle of Behmus's Heights, 478. Ticonderoga besieged, 479. Burgoyne surrenders his Army at Saratoga, 480. The Prisoners—Capture of Forts on the Hudson, 482. Schuyler, 483.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Sufferings at Valley Forge, 484. England disappointed—Conciliatory Measures of Parliament, 485. The War presses hard upon the American people, 486. Difficulties in Congress, 487. The "Conway Cabal," 488. Baron Steuben, 490. Attempt to increase the army, 491. Exchange of Lee; his Treason, 492. Treaty with France—British Commissioners, 493. Battle of Monmouth, 494. Misconduct of Lee, 495. His death, 496. Combined attack upon Newport fails, 497. Massacre at Wyoming—at Cherry Valley, 498. Invasion of Georgia, 500.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Dissensions in Congress, 501. Expedition against the Indians, 502. The War in the South, 503. Marauding Expeditions sent to Virginia, and up the Hudson—Tryon ravages Connecticut, 504. Wayne captures Stony Point, 505. Lee surprises the Garrison at Jersey City—Combined assault upon Savannah, 506. Daniel Boon, 507. George Rogers Clarke; Kaskaskia—Pioneers of Tennessee; Nashville, 508. John Paul Jones, 509.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Hardships of the Soldiers, 510. British Success at the South, 511. Colonel Tarleton, 512. Charleston capitulates—Defeat at Waxhaws, 513. Rev. James Caldwell, 514. Maraud into Jersey, 515. French Fleet at Newport—The Partisan Leaders in the South, 516. Gates in Command—Disastrous Battle of Camden, 518. Death of De Kalb, 519. Sumter's Success and Defeat, 520. The Treason of Arnold—Major André, 521. Movements of Cornwallis, 523. Colonel Ferguson—The Battle of King's Mountain, 524. Tarleton repulsed, 526. Green in command—British triumphant in the South—Affairs in Europe, 527. Henry Laurens—Dangers of England; her Energy, 528.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Spirit of Revolt among the Soldiers, 530. Arnold ravages the Shores of Chesapeake, 532. Battle of the Cowpens, 533. Morgan retreats; Cornwallis pursues, 535. Green marches South—Lee scatters the Tories, 537. Battle of Guildford Court-House, 538. Conflict at Hobkirk's Hill, 539. The Execution of Hayne, 540. Battle of Eutaw Springs, 541. Plans to Capture New York, 542. Wayne's Daring at James River, 543. National Finances — Robert Morris, 544. Clinton deceived — Combined Armies beyond the Delaware, 545. French Fleet in the Chesapeake, 546. New London burned, 547. The Attack, 548. Cornwallis Surrenders, 549. Thanksgiving, 550. Number of Soldiers furnished, 551.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF THE WAR—FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

British Efforts Paralyzed, 552. The States form independent Governments—Indian Wars, 553. Massacre of the Christian Delawares—Battle of the Blue Lick, 554. Lord North—Commissioners of Peace, 555. Peace concluded — Dissatisfaction in the American Army, 556. The "Anonymous Address," 557. British Prisoners; the Tories, 558. Disbandment of the Army—Washington takes leave of his Officers, 559. Resigns his Commission, 560. Shay's Rebellion, 562. Interests of the States clash, 563. The Constitutional Convention, 564. The Constitution—its Ratification, 565. The Territory North-west of the Ohio, 566. Ecclesiastical Organizations, 567. Fathers of the Republic, 570.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

Reception and Inauguration of the President, 572. An Era in human Progress, 573. The Departments of State organized, 574. Hamilton's Financial Report, 575. Congress Assumes the Debts of the Nation—National Bank, 576. Commercial Enterprise—Manufacturers, 577. Indian War, 578. St. Clair defeated, 579. Wayne defeats the Indians, 580. Political Parties—Jefferson, 581. The French Revolution, 582. Genet arrives as French Minister—Neutrality proclaimed by the President—Democratic Societies, 583. The Partisans of France—Recall of Genet, 584. The first Settlers of Western Pennsylvania, 585. The Whiskey Insurrection, 586. Special Mission to Great Britain, 587. A Treaty concluded, 588. Other Treaties, 589. Washington's Farewell Address, 590.

CHAPTER XL.

JOHN ADAMS'S ADMINISTRATION.

Serious Aspect of Relations with France, 591. Commissioners of Peace, 592. The French Cruisers, 593. The Alien Act—War impending, 594. Washington Commander-in-Chief—Capture of the Frigate L'Insurgente, 595. Peace concluded—Death of Washington, 596. Eulogiums on his Character, 597. The City of Washington becomes the Seat of Government, 598.

CHAPTER XLI.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The President's Inaugural, 559. Purchase of Louisiana, 600. Pirates in the Mediterranean, 601 Burning of the Philadelphia, 602. Tripoli Bombarded, 603. Death of Hamilton, 604. Aaron Burr, 605. Opposition to the Navy—Gunboats, 606. The Rights of Neutrals, 607. Impressment of American Seamen, 608. Treaty with England rejected—Affair of the Chesapeake, 610. The Embargo; its effect, 612. The Embargo repealed, 614.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR, CONTINUED.

William Pitt, Prime Minister —Lord Amherst, Commander-in-chief. —Plan of Operations.—Louisburg captured.—Abercrombie on Lake George; Repulse and Retreat.—Bradstreet captures Fort Frontenac.—Expedition against Fort Du Quesne.—Colonel Grant.—Washington takes possession of the Fort; resigns his Commission.—Ticonderoga abandoned; the French retire to Canada.—Wolfe appears before Quebec.—Exertions of Montcalm.—The British on the Heights of Abraham.—The Battle.—Deaths of Wolfe and Montcalm; their Memories.—Quebec capitulates.—The Cherokee War.—Destruction of their Crops and Villages; their Revenge.—Pontiac; his Character and Plans.—Desolations along the Frontiers.—General Bouquet.—Pontiac's Death.

CHAP. XXIII.

1757.

THE people of England were not indifferent spectators of these failures; they noticed the feeble manner in which the war was conducted, and attributed the want of success to the inefficiency of those in command.

Through their influence, William Pitt, one of themselves, not of the aristocracy, was called to the head of affairs. He appreciated the character and patriotism of the colonists. Instead of devising measures that would impoverish them, he, at once, assumed the expenses of the war; announced that the money they had already spent for that purpose should be refunded, and that for the future such expenses would be borne by the home government; also arms and clothing should be furnished the soldiers who would enlist. This act of justice brought into the field fifty thousand men—a number greater than that of the entire male population of Canada at that time.

CHAP. XXIII.

Lord Jeffrey Amherst was appointed commander-in-chief of the British army. He had for his lieutenant the young and talented James Wolfe, who, although but thirty-one years of age, had spent eighteen of those years in the army, where, by his noble bearing, he had won for himself the admiration of both friends and foes. 1757.

According to the general plan, Amherst himself was to head the expedition against Louisburg and Quebec; while General Forbes was to capture Fort Du Quesne and take possession of the valley of the Ohio, and Abercrombie to take Ticonderoga, the French stronghold on Lake Champlain. With Abercrombie was associated Lord Howe, who was characterized as the soul of the enterprise.

June, 1758. On the 8th of June, Amherst landed with his forces near the city of Louisburg. Under the cover of a fire from the ships Wolfe led the first division. He forbade a gun to be fired, urged on the rowers, and in the face of the enemy leaped into the water and, followed by his men, waded to the shore. The French deserted their outposts, and retired to the fortress in the town. After a bombardment of fifty days, when the French shipping in the harbor was destroyed, and all hope of receiving assistance at an end, the fortress surrendered. At the same time were given up the islands of Cape Breton and Prince Edward, five thousand prisoners, and an immense amount of military stores.

July 27.

Abercrombie and Lord Howe advanced against Ticonderoga. Their army, which amounted to seven thousand English and nine thousand Americans, assembled at the head of Lake George. They passed in flat-boats down to the foot of the lake, where they disembarked and hurried on toward Ticonderoga; but through the ignorance of their guide, missed their way, and the advance fell into an ambuscade of a French scouting party. The enemy was soon put to flight, but Lord Howe fell at the head of

July 6.

CHAP. XXIII.

1758.

his men. His death threw a gloom over the camp—the soldiers had confidence in no other leader. Their forebodings were soon realized. The British engineer reconnoitred the French works, and reported them as weak; but Stark, who knew their strength, affirmed they were strong and well furnished. Abercrombie believed his engineer, and without waiting for his artillery, he ordered an attack. His soldiers performed prodigies of valor, but were forced to retire, with a loss of two thousand of their number. In this battle was wounded Charles Lee, then a captain, and afterward a major-general in the Revolutionary army. The indefatigable Montcalm had disposed his small army to the very best advantage, and was present wherever he was specially needed. Abercrombie ordered his men to attempt an impossibility, but judiciously kept himself out of danger. The English army was yet four to one of the French, and could have conquered with the aid of the cannon which had been brought up, yet Abercrombie hastily retreated. As Montcalm's troops were few and exhausted, he did not attempt to pursue him.

The monotony of disasters was disturbed by Colonel, Bradstreet, of New York, who, after much solicitation, obtained permission to go against Fort Frontenac, which, from its position at the foot of Lake Ontario, commanded that lake and the St. Lawrence. It was a central point for trading with the Indians; a great magazine which supplied all the posts on the upper lakes and Ohio with military stores. With twenty-seven hundred men, all Americans, principally from New York and Massachusetts, Bradstreet passed rapidly and secretly to Oswego, and thence across the lake in open boats, and landed

Aug.

within a mile of the fort. The majority of the garrison, terrified at the sudden appearance of enemies, fled; the next day the remainder surrendered. There was found an immense amount of military stores, some of them destined for Fort Du Quesne, and a fleet of nine armed ves-

sels, which held the command of the lake. The fort was razed to its foundations, two of the vessels were laden with stores and brought to Oswego; the remaining stores and ships were destroyed.

The troops raised in Pennsylvania for the expedition under General Forbes against Fort Du Quesne were assembled at Raystown, on the Juniata. Washington was at Cumberland, with the Virginian regiment. His plan was to march directly upon the fort by the road which Braddock had made. This common-sense plan was rejected, and the suggestions of some land speculators adopted, and Forbes ordered a new road to be cut through the wilderness further north.

General Bouquet with the advance passed over the Laurel Hill, and established a post at Loyal Hanna. Without permission he despatched Major Grant with eight hundred Highlanders and a company of Virginians to reconnoitre in the vicinity of Fort Du Quesne. Grant was permitted to approach unmolested, though the French knew from their scouts of all his movements. As he drew near, he sent a party to take a plan of the fort, and placed Major Lewis with the Virginians to guard the baggage, as if they were not to be trusted in the contest. Not a gun was fired from the fort. Grant self-complacently attributed this to the dread his regulars had inspired. All this time the Indians lay quietly in ambush, waiting for the signal to commence the attack. Presently out rushed the garrison, and attacked the Highlanders in front, while in a moment the fearful war-whoop arose on both flanks. Terrified at the unusual contest, they were thrown into confusion; their bewildered officers began to manœuvre them as if in the open field. Major Lewis with some of his party hastened to the rescue, and there fought hand to hand with the savages. The detachment, overpowered by numbers, was com-

Sept. 15.

CHAP. XXIII. 1758.

pletely routed, and Grant and Lewis were both made prisoners. The fugitives soon reached the place where they left the baggage. Captain Bullit hastily formed a barricade with the wagons, behind which he waited the approach of the pursuers. When they were within a few yards, the Virginians poured in a fire so direct and deadly as to check them. They soon rallied and again approached. This time, Captain Bullit and his men advanced, as if to surrender, but when within eight yards he again poured in an effective fire, and immediately charged bayonet. The pursuers were so astonished at the suddenness and manner of attack that they fled in dismay, while the Virginians retreated with all speed.

When the news of this disaster reached the main army, it well-nigh ruined the whole enterprise; as a council of war decided to give up the attempt for that year, as it was now November, and there were yet fifty miles of unbroken forest between them and the fort. Just then some prisoners were brought in, from whom the defenceless condition of the fort was learned. Washington was given the command of a division with which to push forward. In a few days they arrived in the neighborhood of Du Quesne. Instead of meeting with a vigorous resistance, they were surprised to learn that the place had been abandoned the day before. The French commander had blown up his magazines, burned every building that would burn, and with his company gone on board of flat-boats and floated down the Ohio. On the twenty-fifth of November, Washington marched into the deserted fort, and planted the English colors. An impulse of grateful feeling changed the name to Fort Pitt—since PITTSBURG, in honor of the illustrious man—the first of English statesmen, who appreciated the character of the American colonists, and who was willing to do them justice. Situated at the head of the Ohio, in a region celebrated for its agricultural and mineral wealth, and settled by a moral and

Nov. 25.

industrious population, it has far exceeded in importance any other acquisition made during the war. A fit monument to the memory of the "Great Commoner." CHAP. XXIII. 1758.

The object of the campaign thus secured, Washington, leaving two Virginia regiments to garrison the fort, resigned his commission and retired to private life. In the mean time he had been elected a member of the House of Burgesses. A few months afterward, on the opening of the session, the House, by vote, resolved to receive the youthful champion with some befitting manifestation of its regard. Accordingly, when he took his seat as a member, the Speaker addressed him, giving him thanks for the military services he had rendered his country. Taken by surprise, Washington rose to reply, but words were wanting; he faltered and blushed. "Sit down, Mr. Washington," kindly said the Speaker; "your modesty equals your valor, and that surpasses the power of any language I possess."

This year closed with great advantages to the English. The cunning Indians—still true to the winning side—began to desert the French, and to form treaties of peace or neutrality with their enemies. The comprehensive mind of Pitt was devising plans to crush the French power in America. He promptly paid all the expenses incurred by the colonists during the past year, and they with alacrity entered into his schemes. Wolfe was to ascend the St. Lawrence; Amherst was to advance by way of Lake Champlain, and capture Montreal, and then join Wolfe before Quebec; while General Prideaux was to capture Fort Niagara, and pass down Lake Ontario to Montreal.

As Amherst advanced against Ticonderoga, the French abandoned that post, and the others as he approached; he wasted his time in fortifying the places deserted by the enemy, as if they who were so exhausted as to be scarcely able to get out of his way, would ever return! Though General Prideaux was unfortunately 1759. July.

CHAP. XXIII. 1759.

killed by the bursting of a gun, yet Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, took Niagara; and thus the chain which joined the French forts of Canada, with those of the valley of the Mississippi, was broken forever.

June 27.

The fleet and troops designed against Quebec, assembled at Louisburg. In the latter part of June the armament arrived at the Isle of Orleans, upon which the troops immediately landed. The rock on which stood the citadel of St. Louis, could be seen to the west looming up more than three hundred feet, bidding defiance to the invaders. In the rear were the Heights of Abraham, a plain extending for miles, while all along the shore the high cliffs seemed to be an impregnable defence.

To meet this force, Montcalm had only a few enfeebled battalions and Canadian militia. The Indians held themselves aloof. The English fleet consisted of twenty-two ships of the line, and as many frigates. As master of one of these ships was Captain James Cook, afterward celebrated as the discoverer of the many isles of the Pacific. Under Wolfe were four young and ardent commanders, Robert Monckton, afterward governor of New York; George Townshend, and James Murray, and also Colonel Howe, afterward Sir William, who for a time commanded the British army in the American Revolution.

Quebec, situated on a peninsula between the St. Lawrence and the river St. Charles, was defended on three sides by these rivers, leaving only the west exposed. The lower town was on the beach, while the upper was on the cliff two hundred feet above. The high cliffs of the north shore of the St. Lawrence were deemed a sufficient defence. It was thought impossible for an army to scale them. Below on the St. Lawrence, between the St. Charles and the Montmorenci rivers, was Montcalm's camp, guarded by many floating batteries and ships of war. But the naval superiority of the English soon rendered them masters of the water.

The French troops were driven from Point Levi, directly opposite Quebec, and Wolfe erected batteries on that spot, and began to bombard the lower town, which was soon reduced to ashes; but owing to the distance, the fortress and the upper town could not be injured. Wolfe then passed over to the north side of the river, below the Montmorenci, intending to pass that stream, and force Montcalm to a battle.

When this design was carried into effect, the first division, consisting of the grenadiers, rashly rushed on to storm the French lines before the second division could come up to support them. They were repulsed, with a loss of nearly five hundred men. Diversions were also made above the town to induce the enemy to come into the open field, but without success. Montcalm merely sent De Bougainville with fifteen hundred men to guard against these attacks.

July. The repulse at Montmorenci occasioned the sensitive Wolfe much suffering. He looked for the tardy Amherst, but in vain! No tidings came from him, and it seemed as if the enterprise, the first under his own command, was about to fail. He was thrown into a violent fever by his anxiety. As a last resort, it was resolved, in a council held around his bed, to scale the Heights of Abraham. In order to do this, the French must be deceived. Therefore Captain Cook was sent to take soundings and place buoys opposite Montcalm's camp, as if that was to be the special object of attack. Meantime, the shore for many miles above the town, was carefully examined. At one place was found a little indentation in the bank, from which a path wound up the cliff,—there they determined to make the attempt. This is now known as Wolfe's Cove. The troops were put on shipboard and suddenly sailed up the river, as if intending to pass beyond the French lines and there land. At night the ships lay to, and the troops, in boats, dropped down with the tide to

CHAP. XXIII. 1759. Wolfe's Cove, followed by the ships designed to cover their landing, if necessary. As they passed, a French sentinel hailed them with the inquiry, "Who goes there?" "La France," answered a captain. "What regiment?" "The Queen's"—that being one of the regiments up the river with Bougainville. The sentinel was deceived. They passed on to the Cove, and quietly landing began to grope their way up the cliff, clinging to the shrubs and rocks for support. In the morning the entire army was on the Heights of Abraham, ready for battle.

Sept. 3. Montcalm was thunderstruck, when he heard the news. "It must surely be," said he, "a small party come to pillage, and then retire." More correct information revealed to him the whole truth. There was no time to be lost. He sent immediately for the detachment of Bougainville, which was fifteen miles up the river. The Indians and Canadians advanced first, and subjected the English to an irregular, and galling fire. Wolfe ordered his men to reserve their fire for the French regulars, who were rapidly approaching. When they were within forty yards, the English poured upon them a stream of musketry, aided by grape-shot from a few guns dragged up the cliff by the sailors. It was a fierce conflict. The respective commanders were opposite to each other. Wolfe, although wounded twice, continued to give his orders with clearness; but as he advanced with the grenadiers, who were to make their final charge with the bayonet, he received a ball in the breast. He knew the wound was mortal, and when falling said to the officer nearest to him: "Let not my brave fellows see me fall." He was carried to the rear; when asked if he would have a surgeon, he answered: "It is needless; it is all over with me." As his life was fast ebbing, the cry was raised—"See, they run! they run!" "Who run!" asked the dying man. "The enemy, sir," was the answer. "Do they run already?" he asked with evident surprise.

1759. Sept. 13.

Summoning his failing energies, "Go one of you, to Colonel Burton," said he; "tell him to march Webb's regiment with all speed down to Charles river, to cut off the retreat by the bridge." Then turning upon his side, he murmured, "Now God be praised, I die happy." These were the last words of the young hero, in whom were centred the hopes of his soldiers and of his country. Monckton was severely wounded, and the command devolved upon Townshend, who, content with being master of the field, called the troops from the pursuit. Just at the close of the battle Bougainville appeared with his division; but the contest was declined.

There is a peculiar interest attached to the name and character of Wolfe. A mind sensitive in its emotions and vigorous in its thoughts, animated his feeble body. He maintained a love for the quieter paths of literature, even amid the excitements of the camp. On the clear starlight night preceding the battle, as the boat in which he was seated with his officers was silently floating down the St. Lawrence, he recited to them that classic poem, Gray's "Elegy in a Country Church-yard;" then just published. Death seems to have already cast its dark shadow upon him, and doubtless many of the finer passages of the poem were in accordance with his subdued and melancholy emotions. Then for a time the aspirations of the man of feeling and poetic taste triumphed over the sterner ambition of the warrior, and at its close he exclaimed: "I would rather be the author of that poem than to take Quebec to-morrow."

The brave and generous Montcalm was mortally wounded near the close of the battle. When carried into the city, the surgeon informed him that he could survive only a few hours. "So much the better," he calmly replied, "I shall not live to see the surrender of Quebec." When asked his advice about defending the city, he an-

CHAP. XXIII.

1759. swered: "To your keeping I commend the honor of France. I will neither give orders nor interfere any further; I have business of greater moment to attend to; my time is short; I shall pass this night with God, and prepare myself for death." He then wrote a letter to the English commander, commending to his favor the French prisoners. The next morning he died. That generation passed away, and with it the animosity which existed between the conquerors and the conquered. The united people of another generation erected a granite monument, on which they inscribed the names of Montcalm and Wolfe.

1827.

Sept. 18. Five days after the battle Quebec surrendered. There were great rejoicings both in America and England. Praises were lavished upon Pitt. He in Parliament replied, "I will aim to serve my country, but the more a man is versed in business, the more he finds the hand of Providence everywhere." The next year an attempt was made by the French to recover Quebec, but it failed. An overwhelming force was brought against Montreal. Resistance was vain, and Vaudreuil, the governor, surrendered all the French stations on the Lakes. The troops were to be sent home, and the Canadians, protected in their property, were to enjoy their religious privileges. Thus passed away the French power in Canada. Dependent upon the mother country, the inhabitants had never exercised the right of self-government; they lacked the energy essential to success as an independent people. They have assimilated but little with their conquerors. They still preserve that gay simplicity of manners, so characteristic of their nation, and an ardent attachment to the church of their fathers.

Meantime disturbances had occurred on the southwest. The Cherokees had always been the friends of the English, and had undertaken to protect the frontiers south of the Potomac, yet for this their warriors, when

about to return home, received no reward from the government—not even supplies of food for their journey. What the State failed to do was done by Washington and his officers, who supplied their wants. The next year more Cherokees joined the expedition under Forbes against Fort Du Quesne. As they were returning home along the western borders of Virginia, to avoid starvation they helped themselves to what they wanted. This led to quarrels with the backwoodsmen, who killed and scalped some of their number. When this was told in the land of the Cherokees, it caused sorrow, indignation, and alarm; the women, relatives of those who were slain, poured forth deep and bitter wailings for the dead; the young warriors, indignant, armed themselves for revenge; the old men cautioned and counselled, and did all in their power to prevent war, but in vain; two white men fell victims to the rage of the young warriors. Tiftoe and five other chieftains went to Charleston to beg for peace, and to heal differences. The governor, the haughty and arbitrary Lyttleton, demanded that the young men who, according to the ideas of the sons of the forest, had vindicated the honor of their nation, "should be delivered up or put to death in their own land." This, the Cherokees thought, would only add fuel to the flame already kindled. The legislature decided unanimously that there was no cause for war. News came from the frontier that all was peaceful; "there were no bad talks." The obstinate governor persisted in his demand, and created more disturbance. Then he told the chiefs who wished for peace to come to him and hold a talk, and promised them safe conduct to and from Charleston. Trusting to his word, the great warrior Oconostata came with thirty others. But Lyttleton must obtain for himself the glory of a successful expedition against the Cherokees. He called out the militia in spite of the remonstrances of the people, of the legislature, and of his own council, and

CHAP. XXIII. 1758.

Oct., 1759.

CHAP. XXIII.

basely retained as prisoners, those who had trusted his word. He marched into the country of the Cherokees,

1759. forced a treaty from the feeble old chief, who had no authority to make one, and then returned in fancied triumph. Oconostata and a few others were liberated. The remainder Lyttleton ordered to be kept prisoners at Fort Prince George till twenty-four warriors should be given up to him. Oconostata made an attempt to liberate his friends. In this effort a white man was killed; then, in revenge, the garrison murdered the prisoners. Now the rage of the Cherokees knew no bounds. They exclaimed: "The spirits of our murdered brothers are flying around us screaming for vengeance." The legislature strongly condemned the perfidious conduct of Lyttleton, and asserted their "birth-rights as British subjects," and affirmed that he had "violated their undoubted privileges." Yet this very man received the highest commendations from the "Board of Trade."

The Cherokees, driven to desperation by such treatment, called to their aid the Muscogees, and sent to Louisiana for military supplies. The Carolinians applied to General Amherst, who sent them twelve hundred men,

1760. principally Highlanders, under General Montgomery. They, with the Carolinians, pressed forward, by forced marches, into the land of the Cherokees. Why give the details of desolated settlements? Village after village was destroyed, and fertile valleys laid waste. On the upper Savannah was the beautiful vale of Keowee, "the delight of the Cherokees." They had become so far civilized as to build comfortable houses, and to surround them with cultivated fields. Suddenly appeared the invaders. The great majority of the Indians, after an attempt at

July. defence, fled, and from the distant mountain-tops saw the enemy burning their houses and destroying their crops. "I cannot help pitying them a little," writes Colonel Grant; "their villages are agreeably situated, their houses

neatly built. There were everywhere astonishing magazines of corn, which were all consumed." CHAP. XXIII. 1760.

After this dash at the Cherokees, Montgomery immediately retreated to the north, as ordered by Amherst The Indians were not subdued, but enraged; they continued to ravage the back settlements of the Carolinas.

Immediately after the surrender of Canada, all the French stations on the lakes were occupied by the conquerors, and the little stockade posts throughout all that region, and in the valley of the Ohio, were garrisoned by a few men, in many instances not exceeding twenty. The French, either as traders or as religious teachers, had won the confidence and the affection of the Indians, by a friendly intercourse extending through more than half a century. Was it strange that the contrast appeared great to them, between these friends and companions and the domineering English soldiers, who insulted their priests and vilified their religion? The French had prohibited the trade in rum, but the English introduced the traffic, and the demoralization of the Indians commenced. The capture of Fort Du Quesne was the signal for a torrent of emigration, which poured over the mountains into the valleys of the Monongahela and Alleghany. The Indians feared the pale-faces would drive them from their homes. 1763.

Adopted into the tribe of the Ottawas, was a Catawba, who had been brought from the South as a prisoner, but who had, by his genius and bravery, risen to be a chief. He had the most unbounded influence over his own and other tribes, and was styled "the king and lord of all the country of the north-west." "How dare you come to visit my country without my leave?" demanded he of the first English officer who came to take possession of the French forts. Such was Pontiac, the Philip of the north-west, who, in the war which bears his name, made the last great struggle for the independence of the Red Man. This master spirit planned, and partially executed, one of

CHAP. XXIII. 1763.

the most comprehensive schemes ever conceived by Indian sagacity to expel the invaders, and maintain his own authority as "king and lord" of all that region. He induced the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Senecas, the Miamis, and many lesser tribes, who roamed over the vast region in the basin of the upper lakes, in the valley of the Ohio, and a portion of that of the Mississippi, to join in the conspiracy. He sent a prophet through the land to proclaim that the Great Spirit had revealed to him, "that if the English were permitted to dwell in their midst, then the white man's diseases and poisons would utterly destroy them." This conspiracy was more than a year in forming, yet it was kept a profound secret.

DETROIT had the largest garrison, was the great centre for the trade of the upper lakes, and most important in its influence. Here the French were numerous; they tilled their farms, as well as engaged in the traffic of furs. Pontiac desired to obtain possession of the fort. He intimated that he was coming with his warriors to have a "talk" with his English brothers. Meantime, Gladwin, the commander, had learned of the conspiracy. Finding that the plot was discovered, Pontiac threw off the mask, and boldly attacked the fort, but without success. This was the commencement of a series of surprises; the Indians, in the short space of three weeks, captured every station west of Niagara, except Detroit and Pittsburg. The soldiers of the garrisons were nearly all put to death, more than one hundred traders were murdered and scalped in the wilderness, and more than five hundred families, after losing hundreds of their members, were driven from their homes on the frontiers. A large force from several tribes concentrated around Pittsburg, the most important post in the valley of the Ohio; yet the brave garrison could not be caught by their wiles, nor conquered by their arms. Their ravages, in the mean while, extended to all the settlements and posts on the

head-waters of the Ohio, and on the lakes to the region between the Mississippi and the Ohio.

General Bouquet was sent from Eastern Pennsylvania to relieve Fort Ligonier, just at the western foot of the mountains, and Pittsburg. His army consisted of not more than five hundred effective men, principally Scotch Highlanders. They had with them a train of wagons, drawn by oxen, and pack-horses laden with military stores and necessary provisions, and a drove of beef cattle. Passing through a region desolated by the savages, they saw the remains of burnt cabins, and the harvests standing uncut in the fields.

When he arrived at Ligonier, Bouquet could learn nothing from the west, as all intercourse had been cut off. Leaving there his wagons and cattle, he pushed forward to ascertain the fate of Pittsburg. The Indians besieging that place, heard of his approach, and they resolved to place themselves in ambush, and defeat his army. As soon as the battle began, the Highlanders dashed at them with the bayonet, and the Indians fled; but when the pursuit slackened they rallied, and were again repulsed. At length, the number of the savages increased so much that they completely surrounded the Highlanders, who, during the night, encamped on the ridge of a hill. In the morning they could not advance, for their wounded men and baggage would fall into the hands of the enemy. Placing two companies in ambush, Bouquet began to retreat, and immediately, with exulting yells, the Indians rushed on in pursuit, but when they came to the right point, those in ambush charged them on both sides, and those retreating wheeled and charged also. Panic-stricken by the suddenness of the attack, the savages broke and fled. The division then moved on to Pittsburg. From that day the valley of the Ohio was free from Indian violence. The stream of emigration began again to pour over the

CHAP. XXIII.

mountains. The tribes, disheartened, began to make treaties and promise peace. Pontiac would make no
1764. treaty, nor acknowledge himself a friend of the English. He left his home and tribe and went to the country of
1769. the Illinois, where he was assassinated.

For nearly three-quarters of a century a dispute had existed between the authorities of the colonies of Pennsylvania and Maryland in respect to their boundary line. Finally, a compromise was agreed upon by which a start-
1760. ing-point was to be taken "fifteen English statute miles south of the latitude of the most southerly part of Philadelphia." This point was to be on the circumference or tangent of a circle whose center was New Castle—now in Delaware—and radius twelve miles; from that "fifteen-mile point a line was to be run due west across the Susquehannah, etc., to the utmost longitude of Pennsylvania." This circle sweeps round from the west to the north-east, and is said to be the only boundary in the world in which the circle is used.

The king sent out from London two learned astronomers—Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon—to run the line. They commenced their labors, and in five years
1768. made a report of their progress. Troubles with the Indians interfered, and they could not finish the work, which was completed fifteen years afterward by other hands. The English surveyors cut openings through the woods; at the end of every mile they set up a stone, on one side of which the letter "P" was cut in, and on the other the letter "M;" and every five miles a stone brought from England, but instead of the letters were engraved the coats-of-arms of the Penns and of Lord Baltimore. This line is artificial, not a mountain nor a river is used—it passes over both. No boundary has marked greater contrasts in society and its advancement than the famous "Mason and Dixon's line."

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COLONISTS.

Religious Influences among the earlier Settlers.—The later Emigrants; their Influence.—Love of domestic Life.—Laws enjoining Morality.—Systems of Education; Common Schools.—John Calvin.—The Southerner; the Northerner.—The Anglo-Saxon Element; the Norman.—Influences in Pennsylvania; in New York.—Diversity of Ancestry.

THE conquest of Canada had removed apprehensions of war with France, or of incursions by the Indians. The colonists naturally turned to their own affairs. They were poor and in debt; a seven years' war had been within their borders; their men had been drawn from the labor of industry to the battle-field. Yet that war, with its evils, had conferred benefits. It had made known to them their strength, and success had given them confidence.

Before relating the events that led to the Revolution, let us take a rapid survey of the people, who were soon to take their place among the nations of the earth

From the first they were an intelligent and a religious people. They were untrammelled in the exercise of their religion, and its spirit moulded public sentiment in all the colonies, whether settled by the Puritan or the Churchman, by the Dutch Calvinist or the Quaker, by the Huguenot or the Scotch-Irish Presbyterian. The two latter were of more recent emigration; they did not diminish the high tone of morals already sustained by the earlier settlers.

CHAP. XXIV. 1760.

The Huguenots came in small companies, and seldom settled together in large numbers, but mingled with the colonists, and conformed more and more to their customs, and, in time, became identified with them in interests. Calvinists in doctrine, they generally united with either the Episcopal or Presbyterian churches, and by their piety and industrious habits exerted an influence that amply repaid the genuine hospitality with which they were everywhere received.

The Scotch-Irish Presbyterians displayed the indomitable energy and perseverance of their ancestors, with the same morality and love of their church. Even those who took post on the outskirts of civilization along the western frontiers of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, and North Carolina, had their pastor, and trained their children in Bible truth, in the catechism, obedience to parents,—a wholesome doctrine practically enforced by all the colonists,—and reverence for the Sabbath and its sacred duties. They were a people decided in their character. They emigrated from their native land to enjoy civil and religious privileges, but they had also an eye to the improvement of their temporal affairs.

The endearments of home and of the domestic fireside had charms for the colonists of every creed. The education of their children was deemed a religious duty, while around their households clustered the comforts and many of the refinements of the times. The example of their ancestors, who had sought in the wilderness an asylum, where they might enjoy their religion, had not been in vain; a traditionary religious spirit had come down from those earlier days, and now pervaded the minds of the people.

Though there was neither perfect uniformity in their forms of worship, nor in their interpretation of religious doctrines, yet one sentiment was sacred in the eyes of all —a reverence for the day of Holy Rest. The influences

connected with the Sabbath, and impressed from week to week, penetrated their inner life, and like an all-pervading moral antiseptic preserved, in its purity, the religious character of the entire people.

The laws of a people may be taken as the embodiment of their sentiments. Those enacted by our forefathers may excite a smile, yet they show that they were no time-servers—that they were conscientious and in earnest.

In New England the laws noticed those who dressed more richly than their wealth would justify; they would not permit the man who defrauded his creditors to live in luxury; those who did not vote, or would not serve when elected to office, they fined for their want of patriotism; they forbade "drinkings of healths as a bad habit;" they prohibited the wearing of embroidered garments and laces; they discouraged the use of "ribbons and great boots;" sleeves must reach to the wrist, and not be more than half an ell wide; no one under twenty years of age was allowed to use tobacco, unless prescribed by a physician; those who used it publicly were fined a sixpence; all persons were restrained from "swimming in the waters on the Sabbath-day, or unreasonably walking in the fields or streets."

In Virginia we see the same spirit. In every settlement there was to be "a house for the worship of God." Divine service was to be in accordance with the canons of the Church of England. Absence from church was punished by a fine; the wardens were sworn to report cases of "drunkenness, swearing, and other vices." The drunkards were fined, the swearers also, at the rate of "a shilling an oath;" slanderers and tale-bearers were punished; travelling or shooting on the Sabbath forbidden. The minister was not to addict himself "to excess in drinking or riot, nor play cards or dice, but to hear or read the Holy Scriptures, catechize the children, and visit the sick." The wardens were bound to report the

CHAP. XXIV.

1760. masters and mistresses "who neglected to catechize the ignorant persons under their charge." In the Carolinas laws of a similar character were enacted; and, in Pennsylvania, against "stage plays, playing of cards, dice, May-games, masques, and revels."

Although, at the time of which we write, many of these, and similar laws had become obsolete, yet the influences which dictated them had, for one hundred and fifty years, been forming the character of the colonies. Hedged in on the one side by the ocean, and on the other by a howling wilderness filled with hostile savages, they acquired a certain energy of character, the result of watchfulness, and an individuality, which to this day distinguishes their descendants.

While emigrants were flocking to the colonies, these influences were somewhat disturbed, but for three-quar-

1688. ters of a century—since the great revolution in England had restrained the hand of oppression—emigration had been gradually diminishing.

Thus uninfluenced from without, the political and religious principles with which they were imbued had time to produce their fruit. A national sentiment, a oneness of feeling among the people, grew into vigorous being. The common schools of New England had exerted their undivided influence for almost three generations; the youth left them with that conscious self-reliance which springs spontaneously in the intelligent mind—a pledge of success in things great as well as small. These schools, no doubt, gave an impulse to female education. In the earlier days of New England the women were taught to read, but very few to write. "The legal papers executed in the first century (of the colony) by well-to-do women, were mostly signed by a mark, (X)".[1] The custom of

[1] Elliott's History of New England, vol. i., p. 428.

settling in townships or villages made it easy to support common schools.

In the middle colonies, especially Pennsylvania and New York, a system of general education had not been introduced; the diversity of sects prevented. In the South, except partially in Maryland, common schools were not adopted. The owners of slaves usually held large tracts of the best lands, while the less wealthy were compelled to retire to the outskirts of the settlements, where they could obtain farms. The population was thus so much scattered, that generally children could not be concentrated at particular places in sufficient numbers to sustain schools. Those who, for want of means, could not employ private teachers, taught their own children as best they could. Among this class, from year to year there was but little increase in general intelligence. The wealthy employed private instructors, or sent their children abroad. As the nation increased in knowledge, the people cherished the right to exercise free thought and free speech.

Our ancestors lived not for themselves alone. With the prophet's vision, and the patriot's hope, they looked forward to the day, when all this continent would be under the influence of their descendants, and they a Christian people. Was it strange they were self-denying and in earnest, in endeavoring to spread the blessings of education and religion, as the greatest boon they could transmit to their posterity? Thus they labored to found institutions of learning; they encouraged the free expression of opinion. From the religious freedom of conscience, which they proclaimed as the doctrine of the Bible, the transition was easy to political freedom. The advocate of free inquiry became the advocate of civil liberty, and the same stroke which broke the chain binding the word of God to the interpretation of the church, shattered the fetters binding the political slave.

CHAP. XXIV. 1760.

Much of this sentiment may be traced to the influence exerted by the opinions of one man, John Calvin. "We boast of our common schools, Calvin was the father of popular education, the inventor of free schools. The pilgrims of Plymouth were Calvinists; the best influence of South Carolina came from the Calvinists of France. William Penn was the disciple of the Huguenots; the ships from Holland that first brought colonists to Manhattan were filled with Calvinists. He that will not honor the memory and respect the influence of Calvin, knows but little of the origin of American liberty. He bequeathed to the world a republican spirit in religion, with the kindred principles of republican liberty." [1]

There were slight differences of character between the people of the several colonies. In the eastern, the difficulties arising from a sterile soil had made the people industrious and frugal. There, labor was always honorable, and when the day came "which tried men's souls," great numbers of the prominent men came from the ranks of manual labor. The Anglo-Saxon element greatly predominated among the colonists of New England. As simple in manners as rigid in morals, a truly democratic spirit and love of liberty pervaded their minds, and hence political constitutions of whose benefits all were participants. The Norman element prevailed more in the South, especially in Virginia. Here the wealthy colonists were more aristocratic in spirit and feeling; were more refined and elegant in manners. This aristocratic spirit was fostered, in time, by the system of slavery, while the distinctions in society arising from the possession of wealth were greatly increased. In all the southern colonies, the mildness of the climate, the labor of slaves, and the ready sale of their tobacco, rice, and indigo, made the acquisition of wealth comparatively easy. The planter, "having

[1] Bancroft's Miscellanies, pp. 405–6

more leisure, was more given to pleasures and amusements—to the sports of the turf, the cock-pit, the chase, and the gaming-table. His social habits often made him profuse, and plunged him in debt to the English or Scotch merchant, who sold his exported products and furnished him his foreign supplies. He was often improvident, and sometimes not punctual in his pecuniary engagements." [1] The planters were hospitable. Living upon isolated plantations, they were in a measure deprived of social intercourse; but when opportunity served, they enjoyed it with a relish. As the Southerner was hospitable, so the Northerner was charitable. From the hard earnings of the farmer, of the mechanic, of the merchant, of the seafaring man, funds were cheerfully given to support schools, to endow colleges, or to sustain the ordinances of the gospel. In the South, colleges were principally endowed by royal grants.

In Pennsylvania was felt the benign influence of the disciples of George Fox, and its benevolent founder. The friends of suffering humanity, the enemies of war, the opponents of classes and ranks in society founded on mere birth, they recognized merit wherever found. There the human mind was untrammelled—conscious of a right derived from a higher authority than conventional law; there public posts were open to all—no tests intervened as a barrier. At this time the ardent aspirations of Benjamin Franklin in the pursuit of science received the sympathy of the people. In Philadelphia he was the means of founding an academy and free school, which grew into a university. Here was founded the first medical college in the colonies, the first public library, and the first hospital. Here, Bartram, the botanist, founded the first botanic garden; and here was formed the American Philosophical Society. Here lived Godfrey, the inventor of the quadrant, which bears the name of Hadley.

[1] Tucker's History of the United States, vol. i., p. 97.

CHAP. XXIV. 1760.

In New York, "the key of Canada and the lakes," were blended many elements of character. Here commerce began to prevail, and here the arbitrary laws of the Board of Trade were vigorously opposed, and so often eluded, that Holland derived more benefit from the trade than England herself. It cost nearly as much as the amount of the import duties to maintain the cruisers and the "Commissioners of Customs." The "Dutch Republicans" had been for nearly a century pupils in the school where the "rights of Englishmen" were taught; they profited so much by the instruction, that they paid very little attention to the king's prerogative, and thought their own Legislature quite as respectable as the House of Commons.

Although the great majority of the Americans were the descendants of Englishmen, yet there were representatives from Scotland, from Ireland, from Wales, from France, from Holland, from Germany, from Sweden, and from Denmark. In religion, there were Churchmen and Dissenters, Quakers and Catholics. Though they differed in many minor points, and indulged in those little animosities which unfortunately too often arise between people of different nations and religions, yet they cherished a sympathy for each other. They were all attached to the mother country—the South, perhaps, more than the North; the former had not experienced so severely the iron hand of royal rule. Some strong external pressure was required to bind them more closely together, if ever they were to become an independent nation. That external pressure was not long wanting.

CHAPTER XXV.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION.

Restrictions of Trade and Manufactures.—Taxes imposed by Parliament.—Writs of Assistance.—James Otis.—Samuel Adams.—The "Parsons'" Case in Virginia.—Patrick Henry.—A Stamp Tax threatened.—Colonel Barre's Speech.—The Stamp Act.—Excitement in the Colonies.—Henry in the House of Burgesses.—Resolutions not to use Stamps.—"Sons of Liberty."—A Call for a Congress; it meets, and the Colonial Assemblies approve its Measures.—Merchants refuse to purchase English Merchandise.—Self-denial of the Colonists.—Pitt defends them.—Franklin at the Bar of the House of Commons.—Stamp Act repealed.—Rejoicings.—Dartmouth College.

THE industrious habits of the colonists were no less worthy of notice than their moral traits. The contest with the mother country had its origin in her attempts to deprive them, by means of unjust laws, of the fruits of their labor. For one hundred years she had been imposing restrictions on their trade and domestic manufactures. They were treated as dependents, and inferiors who occupied "settlements established in distant parts of the world for the benefit of trade." They could purchase from England alone, and only to her market could they send their products. That English merchants might grow rich at their expense, the products of Europe and Asia were first to be landed in England, and then reshipped to America in British vessels. The only trade not thus taxed, was that of negroes, they being shipped directly from Africa—a trade against which all the colonies earnestly, but in vain, protested. Even the trees

CHAP. XXV.

1750. in the forest suitable for masts were claimed by the king, and marked by his "Surveyor-General of Woods." "Rolling mills, forges, or tilt-hammers for making iron," were prohibited as "nuisances." The House of Commons said "that the erection of manufactories in the colonies tended to lessen their dependency upon Great Britain;" and the English ship-carpenters complained "that their trade was hurt, and their workmen emigrated, since so many vessels were built in New England." The hatter, because he could obtain his fur from the Indians without sending to England, was not permitted to sell hats out of his own colony. No manufacturer was permitted to have more than two apprentices. The government was unwilling that the colonists should make for themselves a single article which the English could supply.

These measures aroused a spirit of opposition, more especially among the frugal and industrious inhabitants of New England, whose manufactures, fisheries, and trade were almost ruined. There the people naturally agreed to buy of British manufacturers only what was absolutely necessary; rather than pay the English merchant exorbitant prices, they would deprive themselves of every luxury. Families determined to make their own linens and woollens, and to abstain from eating mutton, and preserve the sheep to furnish wool. It became fashionable, as well as honorable, to wear homespun. Associations were formed to promote domestic manufactures. On the anniversary of one of these, more than three hundred young women met on Boston Common, and devoted the day to spinning flax. The graduating class of Harvard College, not to be outdone in patriotism, made it a point on Commencement Day to be clad in homespun. Restrictions on trade did not affect the interests of the people of the South so much, as England could not dispense with their tobacco, rice, and indigo, and they had scarcely any manufactories.

1763. Before the close of the French war, it was intimated

that England intended to tax the colonies, and make them bear a portion of the burdens brought upon herself by the mismanagement of her officials. Many plans were discussed and laid aside. Meantime the colonists denied the right of Parliament to tax them without granting them, in some form, representation in the government; they claimed a voice in the disposal of their money. They looked back upon their history, and were unable to discover the obligations they owed the king. They loved to think of Old England as the "home" of their fathers; they rejoiced in her glories and successes, and never dreamed of separating from her, until driven to that resolve by oppression. Yet visions of greatness, and it may be of independence, were floating through the minds of the far-seeing. John Adams, when a youth, had already written: "It looks likely to me, for if we can remove the turbulent Gallicks, our people, according to the exactest computations, will in another century become more numerous than England itself. Should this be the case, since we have, I may say, all the naval stores of the nation in our hands, it will be easy to obtain the mastery of the seas; and then the united force of all Europe will not be able to subdue us." [1]

CHAP. XXV. 1763.

A special effort was now made to enforce the navigation laws, and to prevent the colonists from trading with other nations. This policy would have converted the entire people into a nation of smugglers and law-breakers, but for the strong religious influences felt throughout the land.

To enforce these laws, Parliament gave authority for using general search warrants, or "Writs of Assistance." These Writs authorized any sheriff or officer of the customs to enter a store or private dwelling, and search for foreign merchandise, which he *suspected* had not paid

1761.

[1] Life and Writings, vol. i., p. 23.

CHAP. XXV. 1761. duty. The quiet of the domestic fireside was no longer to be held sacred. These Writs, first used in Massachusetts, caused great excitement and opposition. Their legality was soon brought to the test in a court of justice.

On this occasion the eloquent James Otis sounded the note of alarm. He was the Advocate for the Admiralty, whose duty it was to argue in favor of the Writs; but he resigned, in order to plead the cause of the people. The royalist lawyer contended that the power of Parliament was supreme, and that good subjects ought to submit to its every enactment. In reply, Otis exclaimed: "To my dying day, I will oppose, with all the power and faculties God has given me, all such instruments of slavery, on the one hand, and villany on the other." His stirring eloquence gave an impulse to public opinion, which aroused opposition to other acts of Parliament. "Then and there," says John Adams, "was the first opposition to arbitrary acts of Great Britain. Then and there American Independence was born." The writs were scarcely ever enforced after this trial.

Of the leading men of the times, none had greater influence than Samuel Adams—in his private life, the devout Christian; in his public life, the incorruptible patriot. In him the spirit of the old Puritans seemed to linger: mild in manners, living from choice in retirement, incapable of an emotion of fear, when duty called him to a post of danger. Learned in constitutional law, he never went beyond its limits. Through his influence Boston expressed her opinions, saying, "We claim British rights, not by charter only—we are born to them. If we are taxed without our consent, our property is taken without our consent, and then we are no more freemen, but slaves." And she invited all the colonies to join in obtaining redress. The same note of alarm was sounded in Virginia, in New York, in Connecticut, and in the Carolinas. Thinking minds saw in the future the coming

CHAP. XXV.

contest; that the English ministry would persist in their unjust treatment, until, in self-defence, they had driven the whole American people to open rebellion. "They wish to make us dependent, but they will make us independent; these oppressions will lead us to unite and thus secure our liberty." Thus wrote Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia. "Oh! poor New England," exclaimed the eloquent George Whitefield, "there is a deep-laid plot against your liberties; your golden days are ended." 1761.

The first collision in Virginia between the prerogative of the king and the authority of the legislature occurred in a county court. Tobacco was the legalized currency of the colony. Occasionally, untoward events, such as war, or failure of the crop, made payments in tobacco very burdensome. The legislature passed a law, authorizing debtors to pay their public dues in money, at the rate of twopence a pound for the tobacco due. The clergymen of the established church refused to acquiesce in the law; they had a fixed salary of a certain number of pounds of tobacco a year. At their instance, Sherlock, the Bishop of London, used his influence and persuaded the king to refuse his signature to this law. "The rights of the clergy and the authority of the king must stand or fall together," said the Bishop. The law was therefore null and void. 1763. Dec.

To test it, a clergyman named Maury brought a suit to recover damages, or the difference between twopence per pound and the higher price for which tobacco was selling. It became the cause of the people on the one side, and the cause of the clergy and of the king's prerogative on the other. The people engaged a young man of twenty-seven to plead against the "parsons."

That young man was Patrick Henry. He belonged not to the aristocracy, and was obscure and unknown. On this occasion, that rare and wonderful gift of eloquence, which has made us so familiar with his name,

CHAP. XXV. 1763.

was first displayed. He possessed a charm of voice and tone that fascinated his hearers; a grasp of thought, a vividness of conception, and withal a power that allured into sympathy with his own sentiments the emotions of his audience. For this he was indebted to nature, not to education; for, when a boy, he broke away from the restraints of school and the drudgery of book-learning, to lounge idly by some solitary brookside with hook and line, or in more active moods to dash away into the woods to enjoy the excitements of the chase. He learned a little of Latin, of Greek not more than the letters, and as little of mathematics. At eighteen he married, engaged in trade, and failed; tried farming with as little success; then read law six weeks, and was admitted to the bar. Yet the mind of this young man had not been idle; he lived in a world of deep thought; he studied men. He was now to appear for the first time as an advocate.

The whole colony was interested in the trial, and the court-room was crowded with anxious spectators. Maury made objections to the jury; he thought them of "the vulgar herd," "dissenters," and "New Lights." "They are *honest* men," rejoined Henry. The court overruled the insulting objections, and the jury were sworn.

The case was plainly against him, but Henry contended the law was valid, and enacted by competent authority; he fell back upon the natural right of Virginia to make her own laws, independently of the king and parliament. He proved the justness of the law; he sketched the character of a good king, as the father of his people, but who, when he annuls good laws becomes a tyrant, and forfeits all right to obedience. At this doctrine, so new, so daring, the audience seemed to stand aghast. "He has spoken treason," exclaimed the opposing counsel. A few joined in the cry of Treason! treason! Yet the jury brought in a verdict for the "parsons" of a penny damages.

Henry denied the right of the king to aid in making laws for the colonies. His argument applied not only to Virginia, but to the continent. The sentiment spread from colony to colony. CHAP. XXV. 1763.

Parliament assumed the right to tax the Americans, and paid no attention to their protests, but characterized them as "absurd," "insolent," "mad." When they expostulated with Grenville, the Prime Minister, he warned them that in a contest with England they would gain nothing. The taxes must be levied at all events; and he graciously asked if there was any form in which they would rather pay them than by means of the threatened stamps. These were to be affixed to all documents used in trade, and for them a certain impost duty was charged. Only the English merchants whose interests were involved in the American trade, appear to have sympathized with the colonists. Franklin, who was then in London as agent for the Assembly of Pennsylvania, wrote home: "Every man in England regards himself as a piece of a sovereign over America, seems to jostle himself into the throne with the king, and talks of *our* subjects in the colonies."

The Stamp Act did not pass without a struggle. During these discussions, Colonel Barre, who, in the war against the French, was the friend and companion of Wolfe, charged the members of the House of Commons with being ignorant of the true state of the colonies. When Charles Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, asked the question, "Will our American children, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms, grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from our burdens?" Barre indignantly replied: "They planted by *your* care! No, your oppressions planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to an uncultivated, inhospitable country; where they exposed themselves to almost every hardship, and to the cruelties of the savage foe. They nourished by *your* in- 1765.

CHAP. XXV. 1765.

dulgence! They grew by your neglect; your care for them was to send persons to rule them; deputies of deputies, to some members of this house, sent to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men who have caused the blood of those *sons of liberty* to recoil within them. They protected by *your* arms! They have nobly taken up arms in *your* defence. Amidst their constant and laborious industry they have defended a country whose frontiers were drenched in blood, while its interior settlements yielded all their little savings to *your* emoluments. I speak the genuine sentiments of my heart. They are a people as truly loyal as any subjects of the king; they are jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them, if ever they should be violated."

But very few of the members of the house were thus liberal in their sentiments. The great majority looked upon the colonies as subservient to the rule of the mother country. It was the express intention of the ministry "to be very tender in taxing them, beginning with small duties and taxes," and advancing as they found them willing to bear it.

The House of Commons, on March 22d, passed the Stamp Act by a majority of nine to one; ten days afterward it passed the House of Lords almost unanimously. The king was ill; mystery whispered of some unusual disease. When George III. signed the Stamp Act, he was not a responsible being—he was insane.

This act declared that every written agreement between persons in trade, to be valid, must have affixed to it one of these stamps. Their price was in proportion to the importance of the writing; the lowest a shilling, and thence increasing indefinitely. Truly this "was to take money without an equivalent." All business must be thus taxed, or suspended.

In order to enforce this act, Parliament, two months afterward, authorized the ministry to send as many

troops as they saw proper to America. For these soldiers the colonies were required to find "quarters, fuel, cider or rum, candles, and other necessaries."

The news of the passage of these arbitrary laws threw the people into a ferment. They became acquainted with each other's views; the subject was discussed in the newspapers, was noticed in the pulpits, and became the engrossing topic of conversation in social intercourse. In the Virginia Assembly, Patrick Henry introduced resolutions declaring that the people of Virginia were only bound to pay taxes imposed by their own Legislature, and any person who maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy of the colony. An exciting debate followed, in which the wonderful power of Henry in describing the tyranny of the British government swayed the majority of the members. In the midst of one of his bursts of eloquence he exclaimed: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles I. his Cromwell, and George III."—"Treason! treason!" shouted the Speaker, and a few others joined him in the cry. Henry fixed his eye upon the Speaker, and in the tone and emphasis peculiar to himself, continued, "may profit by their example. If that be treason, make the most of it." The resolutions passed, but the next morning, in Henry's absence, the timid in the Assembly rescinded the last, and modified the others. The governor immediately dissolved the house for this free expression of opinion. Meantime, a manuscript copy of the resolutions was on its way to Philadelphia, where they were speedily printed and sent throughout the country. They raised the drooping spirits of the people, who determined to neutralize the law—they would never use the stamps.

May.

The Legislature of Massachusetts resolved that the courts should conduct their business without their use. Colden, the royalist governor of New York, thought "that the presence of a battalion would prevent mischief:" but the council suggested, "it would be more

CHAP. XXV.

1765. safe for the government to show a confidence in the people." "I will cram the stamps down their throats with my sword," said an officer. The churchmen preached obedience to the king—the "Lord's anointed." William Livingston answered, "The people are the 'Lord's anointed,' though named 'mob and rabble'—the people are the darling of Providence."

Colonel Barre, in his famous speech, characterized those in America who opposed British oppression, as "Sons of Liberty." He read them rightly; Sons of Liberty they were, and destined to be free; they felt it; they adopted the name, it became the watchword under which they rallied. Associations called by this name sprang up as if by magic, and in a few weeks spread from Massachusetts to Maryland. They would neither use stamps nor permit the distributers to remain in office.

One morning the famous Liberty Tree in Boston was found decorated with the effigies of some of the friends of the English ministry. The mob compelled Oliver, the secretary of the colony, who had been appointed stamp distributer, to resign, and promise that he would not aid

Aug. in their distribution. They also attacked the houses of some of the other officials. The patriots protested against these lawless proceedings. Five hundred Connecticut farmers came into Wethersfield and compelled Jared Ingersol, the stamp officer for that colony, to resign, and then take off his hat and give three cheers for "Liberty, Property, and no stamps." Such was the feeling, and

Nov. 1. such was the result, that when the day came, on which the law was to go into effect, not one stamp officer could be found—all had resigned.

June. The General Court of Massachusetts issued a circular in June, inviting all the colonies to send delegates to a convention or Congress, to be held at New York, on the first Tuesday of the following October. Accordingly, on

the day named delegates from nine of the colonies met at the place appointed. CHAP. XXV.

The idea of a union of the colonies dates as far back as the days of William Penn, who was the first to suggest it; but now the question was discussed by the various committees of correspondence. At a convention which met at Albany eleven years before this, Benjamin Franklin had proposed a plan of union. This was adopted and laid before the Assemblies of the colonies, and the Board of Trade, for ratification. It met with a singular fate. The Assemblies rejected it, because it was too *aristocratic*, and the Board of Trade because it was too *democratic*. 1765. 1754.

The Congress met and spent three weeks in deliberation. They drew up a Declaration of Rights, a Memorial to both Houses of Parliament, and a Petition to the king. They claimed the right of being taxed only by their own representatives, premising, that because of the distance, and for other reasons, they could not be represented in the House of Commons, but in their own Assemblies. These documents were signed by nearly all the delegates, and transmitted to England. The colonial Assemblies, at their earliest days of meeting, gave to these proceedings of the Congress their cordial approval. Thus the Union was consummated, by which the colonies "became as a bundle of sticks which could neither be bent nor broken." While the Congress was in session, a ship with stamps on board, made its appearance in the bay. Placards were posted throughout the city, threatening those who should attempt to use them. "I am resolved to have the stamps distributed," said Colden, the governor. "Let us see who will dare to put the act into execution," said the Sons of Liberty. Oct., 1765.

On the last day of October all the royal governors, except the governor of Rhode Island, took the oath to carry into execution the Stamp Act. On the next day the law was to go into effect. But not a stamp was to be

CHAP. XXV.

1765. seen; instead, in every colony the bells were tolled, and the flags lowered to half-mast—indications that the passage of this act was regarded as "the funeral of liberty."

The merchants of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, agreed to send no orders to England for merchandise, to countermand those already sent, and to receive no goods on commission till the act was repealed. They were sustained by the people, who pledged themselves not to use the products of English manufacturers, but to encourage their own. Circulars were sent throughout the land inviting to harmonious action; these were responded to with a hearty good-will. Luxuries were dispensed with, and homespun was more honorable than ever.

The infatuated ministry, in view of this opposition, resolved to modify, not to repeal the law. It would detract from their dignity, to comply with the request of the colonists. "Sooner," said one of them, "than make our colonies our allies, I would wish to see them returned to their primitive deserts."

1766. Infirm health had compelled Pitt to retire from active life. "My resolution is taken," said he, "and if I can crawl or be carried to London, I will deliver my mind and heart upon the state of America." When accused by Grenville of exciting sedition, "Sir," said he in reply, "I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Sorry I am to have the liberty of speech in this house imputed as a crime. But the imputation will not deter me; it is a liberty I mean to exercise. The gentleman tells us that America is obstinate; that America is almost in rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted." The sentiment startled the house; he continued: "If they had submitted, they would have voluntarily become slaves. They have been driven to madness by injustice. My opinion is, that the Stamp Act should be repealed, absolutely, totally, immediately." The celebrated

Edmund Burke, then a young man rising into notice, advocated the repeal with great eloquence. CHAP. XXV. 1766.

The House of Commons wished to inquire still further of the temper of the Americans before taking the vote. They accordingly called witnesses to their bar, among whom was Benjamin Franklin. His knowledge was the most perfect, and his testimony had the greatest effect upon their minds. He said the colonists could not pay for the stamps for want of gold and silver; that they had borne more than their share of expense in the last war, and that they were laboring under debts contracted by it; that they would soon supply themselves with domestic manufactures; that they had been well disposed toward the mother country, but recent laws were lessening their affection, and soon all commerce would be broken up, unless those laws were repealed; and finally, that they *never* would submit to taxes imposed by those who had no authority. The vote was taken, and the Stamp Act was repealed; not because it was unjust, but because it could not be enforced. The people of the English commercial cities manifested their joy; bonfires were lighted, the ships displayed their gayest colors, and the city of London itself was illuminated. Expresses were sent to the seaports, that the news might reach America as soon as possible. Mar., 18.

The rejoicings in the colonies were equally as great. In Boston, the bell nearest to the Liberty Tree was the first to ring; soon gay flags and banners were flying from the shipping, from private dwellings, and from the steeples of the meeting-houses. Amidst the joy, the unfortunate were not forgotten, and those immured in the debtor's prison, were released by the contributions of their friends. The ministers, from their pulpits, offered thanksgiving in the name of the whole people, and the associations against importing merchandise from England were dissolved. New York, Virginia, and Maryland, each voted a statue to Pitt, who became more than ever a popular idol.

CHAP. XXV.

1766. In the midst of these troubles the cause of education and religion was not forgotten. The Rev. Eleazar Wheelock established at Lebanon, in Connecticut, a school to educate Indian boys, and train them as teachers for their own race. Success attended the effort. A grant of forty-four thousand acres of land induced him to remove the school to Hanover, New Hampshire. Under the name of Dartmouth, a charter as a college was granted it, by

1769. Wentworth, the governor. The Earl of Dartmouth, a Methodist, a friend of John Wesley, aided it, was one of its trustees, and took charge of the funds contributed for it in England—hence the name.

The establishment of this institution was one of the effects of the Great Revival. In the midst of the native forest of pines the work was commenced. The principal and his students dwelt in log-cabins, built by their own hands.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CAUSES WHICH LED TO THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The English Ministry determine to obtain a Revenue.—Massachusetts invites to harmonious Action.—The Romney and the Sloop Liberty.—A British Regiment at Boston.—Collision with the Citizens.—Articles of Association proposed by Washington.—The Tax upon Tea.—Whigs and Tories.—The Gaspé captured.—The King's Maxim.—The Resolutions not to receive the Tea.—Tea thrown into Boston Harbor.—Its Reception at other Places.—More oppressive Laws passed by Parliament.—Aid sent to Boston.—Gage's Difficulties.—Alexander Hamilton.—The Old Continental Congress.—The Organization; the first Prayer.—The "Declaration of Rights."—The "American Association."—The Papers issued by the Congress.—The Views of Pitt in relation to them.

1766.

LORD GRENVILLE, the head of the ministry, was dismissed, and the Marquis of Rockingham took his place. This ministry soon gave way, and another was appointed by the king, as the head of which was placed Pitt, who, in the mean time, had been created Earl of Chatham.

1767. June.

The following year, during Pitt's absence, Charles Townshend, his Chancellor of the Exchequer, announced that he intended, at all risks, to derive a revenue from America, by imposing a duty upon certain articles, which the colonists received from abroad, such as wine, oil, paints, glass, paper, and lead colors, and especially upon *tea*, as they obtained it cheaper from Dutch smugglers than the English themselves. It was suggested to him to withdraw the army, and there would be no need of a

CHAP. XXVI.

tax. "I will hear nothing on the subject," said he; "it is absolutely necessary to keep an army there."

1767. The colonists were startled by this news. They now remembered the fatal reservation in the repeal of the Stamp Act, that Parliament had the absolute right to tax them. "We will form a universal combination to eat nothing, to drink nothing, and wear nothing, imported from England," passed as a watchword from one colony to another, and very soon the non-importation associations were again in vigor. "Courage, Americans; liberty, religion, and science are on the wing to these shores. The finger of God points out a mighty empire to your sons," said one of the lawyers of New York. "Send over an army and fleet, and reduce the dogs to reason," wrote one of the royal governors to the ministry.

Suddenly the Romney, a man-of-war, appeared in the harbor of Boston. The question soon arose, Why is a vessel of war sent to our harbor? The people had resisted no law; they had only respectfully petitioned for redress. and resolved to dispense with the use of British goods, Since the arrival of the Romney, the haughty manner of the Commissioners of Customs toward the people had become intolerable. The Romney frequently impressed the New England seamen as they came into the harbor. One man thus impressed was forcibly rescued by his companions. These and similar outrages excited the bitterest animosity between the royal officials and the people.

The Massachusetts Assembly issued a circular to the other Colonial Assemblies, inviting to harmonious action in obtaining redress. A few months afterward the ministry sent peremptory orders to the Assembly to rescind their circular. Through the influence of Otis and Samuel Adams, the Assembly refused to comply with the arbitrary demand, but instead intimated that Parliament ought to repeal their offensive laws. Meantime the other Colonial Assemblies received the circular favorably, and

1768. June.

also encouraged Massachusetts in her resistance to tyranny and injustice.

At this crisis, under the pretence that she had made a false entry, the sloop Liberty, belonging to John Hancock, one of the prominent leaders, was seized, and towed under the guns of the Romney. She was laden with Madeira wine, on which duties were demanded. The news soon spread, and a crowd collected, the more violent of whom attacked the houses of the Commissioners of Customs, who were forced to fly for safety to Castle William in the harbor. Of these outbreaks of a few ignorant persons, the most exaggerated accounts were sent to England, and there it was resolved to send more soldiers, and make Massachusetts submit as a conquered country. Vengeance was to be especially taken on "the insolent town of Boston." As the Parliament had determined to send troops to the colonies, Bernard, the governor, requested Colonel Gage to bring a regiment from Halifax to Boston. On a quiet Sabbath, these troops were landed Sept. under the cover of the guns of their vessels, their colors flying, drums beating, and bayonets fixed, as if they had taken possession of an enemy's town. Neither the leaders of the people, nor the people themselves, were intimidated by this military demonstration. According to law, troops could be lodged in Boston, only when the barracks at the forts in the harbor were full. The Assembly refused the soldiers quarters, and the food and other necessaries which had been demanded. The royalists gravely thought the Bostonians "had come within a hair's-breadth of committing treason." Gage wrote, "It is of no use to argue in this country, where every man studies law." He would enforce obedience without delay.

Boston was held as a conquered town; sentinels were placed at the corners of the streets, and citizens, when passing to their ordinary business, were challenged; even the sacred hours of the Sabbath were not free from the

CHAP. XXVI.

1770. March, 2.

din of drums. A collision finally took place, between a citizen and a soldier. This led to an affray between the soldiers and some rope-makers. A few evenings afterward a sentinel was assaulted; soldiers were sent to his aid, and they were stoned by the mob. At length a soldier fired upon their assailants; immediately six of his companions fired also. Three persons were killed and five wounded. The town was thrown into a state of great excitement; in an hour's time the alarm bells had brought thousands into the streets. The multitude was pacified, only for the time, by the assurance of Hutchinson, who was now governor, that in the morning justice should be done. The next morning the people demanded that the troops should be removed from the town to Castle William; and that Captain Preston, who, it was said, had commanded his soldiers to fire, should be tried for murder. Both these requisitions were complied with. Captain Preston and six of his men were arraigned for trial. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, both popular leaders, volunteered to defend them. They were acquitted by the jury of murder, but two of the soldiers were found guilty of manslaughter.

The result of this trial had a good effect in England. Contrary to the slanders of their enemies, it showed that the Bostonians, in the midst of popular excitement, were actuated by principles of justice. Those citizens who had been thus killed were regarded in the colonies as martyrs of liberty.

The Virginia Assembly passed resolutions as "bad as those of Massachusetts." The next day, the governor, Lord Boutetourte, dissolved the house for passing "the abominable resolves." The members immediately held a meeting, at which Washington presented the resolutions, drawn up by himself and his friend George Mason. They were a draft of articles of association, not to import from Great Britain merchandise that was taxed. "Such was

1769. May.

their zeal against the slave-trade, they made a special covenant with one another not to import any slaves, nor purchase any imported." To these resolutions were signed the names of Patrick Henry, Washington, Jefferson, Richard Henry Lee, and, indeed, of all the members of the Assembly. Then they were sent throughout the colony for the signature of every man in it. CHAP. XXVI. 1769.

The non-importation associations produced their effect, and Lord North, who was now prime minister, proposed to remove all the duties except that on tea. That was retained at the express command of the king, whose maxim was, "that there should be always one tax, at least, to keep up the right of taxing." This removed part of the difficulty, for which the colonists were thankful; but they were still united in their determination not to import tea. For these concessions they were indebted to the clamors of those English merchants whose trade had been injured. For a year there was an apparent lull in the storm of popular feeling. 1770.

Governor Hutchinson issued a proclamation for a day of thanksgiving; this he required the ministers to read from their pulpits on the following Sabbath. He thought to entrap them, by inserting a clause acknowledging gratitude, "that civil and religious liberty were continued," and "trade encouraged." But he sadly mistook the men. The ministers, with the exception of one, whose church the governor himself attended, refused to read the proclamation, but, on the contrary, agreed to "implore of Almighty God the restoration of lost liberties."

The contest had continued so long that party lines began to be drawn. Those who favored the demands of the people, were called *Whigs;* those who sympathized with the government, were called *Tories.* These terms had been long in use in England, the former to designate the opposers of royalty; the latter its supporters.

Scarcely a colony was exempt from outrages commit-

CHAP. XXVI.

1770. ted by those representing the royal authority. In New York the people, on what is now the Park, then known as the Fields, erected a liberty-pole. They were accustomed to assemble there and discuss the affairs of the colony. On a certain night, a party of the soldiers stationed in the fort cut down the pole. The people retaliated, and

Jan. frequent quarrels and collisions occurred. Though these disturbances were not so violent as those in Massachusetts, they had the effect of exciting in the people intense hatred of the soldiers, as the tools of tyranny.

An armed vessel, the Gaspé, engaged in the revenue service, took her position in Narraganset Bay, and in an insulting and arbitrary manner enforced the customs. Sometimes she wantonly compelled the passing vessels and market boats to lower their colors as a token of respect; sometimes landed companies on the neighboring islands, and carried off hogs and sheep, and other provisions. The lieutenant in command was appealed to for his authority in thus acting. He referred the committee to the admiral, stationed at Boston. The admiral haughtily answered: "The lieutenant is fulfilling his duty; if any persons rescue a vessel from him, I will hang them as pirates." The bold sailors and citizens matured their

1772. plans and executed them. The Providence packet, of a

June 10. light draught and a fast sailer, was passing up the bay. The Gaspé hailed. The packet paid no attention, but passed on. Immediately the Gaspé gave chase. The packet designedly ran into shoal water near the shore; the Gaspé followed, and was soon aground,—the tide going out, left her fast. The following night a company of men went down in boats, boarded her, made prisoners of the crew, and burned the vessel. A large reward was offered for the perpetrators of this bold act; though well known, not one was betrayed.

The warehouses of the East India Company were filled with the "pernicious weed," and the company proposed

to pay *all* its duties in England, and then export it at their own risk. This would remove the difficulty, as there would then be no collections of the duty in American ports. But the king was unwilling to *sacrifice* his maxim, and Lord North seems to have been incapable of comprehending, that the Americans refused to pay the duty on tea, not because it was great or small, but because they looked upon a tax *thus imposed* as unjust. He therefore virtually proposed to the company to pay *three-fourths* of the duty in England; to save the king's maxim, the government would collect the other fourth, or three pence on a pound, in America. It was suggested to North, that the Americans would not purchase the tea on those conditions. He replied: "It is to no purpose the making objections, for the king will have it so. The king means to try the question with the Americans." 1772. 1773.

Meantime public opinion in the colonies was becoming more and more enlightened, and more and more decided. "We must have a convention of all the colonies," said Samuel Adams. And he sent forth circulars inviting them to assert their rights, when there was a prospect of success. He saw clearly that the king and Parliament were resolved to see whether the Americans would or would not acknowledge their supremacy.

When the conditions became known on which tea was to be imported, the people took measures to prevent its being either landed or sold. In Philadelphia they held a meeting, and requested those to whom the tea was consigned "to resign their appointments." They also denounced "as an enemy to his country," "whosoever shall aid or abet in unloading, receiving, or vending the tea." Similar meetings were held in Charleston and New York, and similar resolutions were passed.

A ship, making a quick passage, arrived at Boston, with intelligence that several vessels laden with tea had sailed. Five thousand men immediately assembled to de-

CHAP. XXVI.

1773. Nov. 3. liberate on the course to be pursued. On motion of Samuel Adams, they unanimously resolved to send the tea back. "The only way to get rid of it," shouted some one in the crowd, "is to throw it overboard." Those to whom the tea had been consigned were invited to meet at Liberty Tree, and resign their appointments. Two of the consignees were sons of Governor Hutchinson, who, at that time, was peculiarly odious on account of his double-dealing. This had been brought to light by a number of his letters to persons in England. These letters had fallen into the hands of Dr. Franklin, who sent them to the Speaker of the Massachusetts Assembly. They disclosed the fact, that nearly all the harsh measures directed against the colony, had been suggested by Hutchinson.

According to law, a ship must unload within twenty days, or be seized for non-payment of duties.

Presently a ship laden with tea came into the harbor. By order of the committee, it was moored at a certain wharf, and a company of twenty-five men volunteered to guard it. The owner promised to take the cargo back, if the governor would give his permit. Meantime came two other vessels; they were ordered to anchor beside the first. The committee waited again upon the consignees, but their answer was unsatisfactory. When the committee made their report to the meeting, not a word was said; the assemblage silently broke up. The consignees were

Nov. 30. terribly alarmed. That silence was ominous. Hutchinson's two sons fled to the fort, to the protection of the regulars. The father went quietly out of town. His object was to gain time till the twenty days should expire; then the ships would pass into the hands of the Commissioners of Customs, and the tea would be safe for his sons.

Another meeting of the people was protracted till after dark; on the morrow the twentieth day would expire, and the tea would be placed beyond their reach. At

length the owner of the vessel returned from his mission to the governor, and reported that he would not give the permit for the ships to leave the port. "This meeting," announced Samuel Adams, "can do nothing more to save the country." CHAP. XXVI. 1773.

Immediately a shout, somewhat like a war-whoop, arose from a band of forty or fifty "very dark complexioned men, dressed like Mohawks," who were around the door. This band moved hastily down to the wharf where lay the tea ships. Placing a guard to protect them from spies, they went on board and took out three hundred and forty-two chests, broke them open, and poured the tea into the water. In silence the crowd on shore witnessed the affair; when the work was accomplished, they quietly retired to their homes. Paul Revere set out immediately to carry the news to New York and Philadelphia. Dec. 18.

At New York, a tea ship was sent back with her cargo; the captain was escorted out of the city by the Committee of Vigilance, with banners flying and a band playing *God save the king*. Eighteen chests of tea, found concealed on board another vessel, were thrown into the dock. In Charleston tea was permitted to be landed, but was stowed in damp cellars, where it spoiled. The captain of the vessel bound for Philadelphia, when four miles below the city, learned that the citizens would not permit him to land his cargo; he prudently returned to England. At Annapolis, a ship and its cargo were both burned; the owner, to allay the excitement, himself applying the torch. Dec. 25.

Meantime the various committees of correspondence were making preparations to hold a congress composed of representatives from all the colonies. Yet they said, and no doubt honestly, that "their old good-will and affection for the parent country were not totally lost." "If she returned to her former moderation and good humor, their affection would revive."

CHAP. XXVI. 1774.

When it became known in England that the audacious colonists would not even permit the tea to be landed, the king and ministry determined to make their power felt; and especially to make an example of Boston. Accordingly a bill was introduced and passed in Parliament, four to one, to close her port to all commerce, and to transfer the seat of government to Salem. Though her citizens offered remuneration for the tea destroyed, yet Massachusetts must be punished; made an example, to deter other outbreaks. Parliament immediately passed a series of laws which violated her charter and took away her privileges. The Port Bill, it was complacently prophesied, will make Boston submit; she will yet come as a penitent, and promise obedience to British laws.

June.

Parliament went still further, and passed other laws; one for quartering soldiers, at the people's expense, on all the colonies, and another in connection with it, by which officers, who, in enforcing this particular law, should commit acts of violence, were to be taken to England, and tried there for the offence. This clause would encourage arbitrary acts, and render military and official insolence still more intolerable. To these was added another law, known as the Quebec act; it granted unusual concessions to the Catholics of Canada—a stroke of policy, if war should occur between the colonies and the mother country. This act revived much of the old Protestant feeling latent in the minds of the people. These laws, opposed by many in Parliament as unnecessary and tyrannical, excited in America a deep feeling of indignation against the English government.

Everywhere Boston met with sympathy. The town of Salem refused to accept the proffered boon of becoming the seat of government at the expense of her neighbor, and Marblehead offered her port, free of charge, to the merchants of Boston. In that city great distress was experienced; multitudes, who depended upon the daily

labor they obtained from commerce, were out of employment, and their families suffered. The different colonies sent to their aid provisions and money; these were accompanied by words of encouragement, to stand firm in the righteous cause. The ordinary necessaries of life came from their neighbors of New England. "The patriotic and generous people" of South Carolina sent them two hundred barrels of rice, and promised eight hundred more, but urged them "not to pay for an ounce of the tea." In North Carolina "two thousand pounds were raised by subscription" and sent. Virginia and Maryland vied with each other in the good work. Washington presided at a meeting of sympathizers, and subscribed himself fifty pounds; and even the farmers on the western frontiers of the Old Dominion sent one hundred and thirty-seven barrels of flour.

These patriots were determined "that the men of Boston, who were deprived of their daily labor, should not lose their daily bread, nor be compelled to change their residence for want." [1]

Even the citizens of Quebec, French and English, by joint effort sent them more than a thousand bushels of wheat, while in London itself one hundred and fifty thousand dollars were subscribed for their benefit. Notwithstanding all this distress no riot or outbreak occurred among the people.

General Gage was now Commander-in-chief of the British army in America, and had been recently appointed governor, in place of Hutchinson. He was sadly at a loss how to manage the Bostonians. If they would only violate the law, he could exercise his civil as well as his military authority. They held meetings, from time to time, and freely discussed their public affairs. They were under

[1] Bancroft, vol. vii., p. 75.

CHAP. XXVI. 1774.

the control of leaders who never lost their self-possession, nor transcended their constitutional rights. The government, thinking to avoid the evil, forbade them to hold such meetings, after a certain day. They evaded the law "by convoking the meetings before that day, and *keeping them alive.*" "Faneuil Hall was at times unable to hold them, and they swarmed from that revolutionary hive into Old South Church. The Liberty Tree became a rallying place for any popular movement, and a flag hoisted on it was saluted by all processions as the emblem of the popular cause." [1]

During this time, the people throughout the colonies held conventions and chose delegates to the General Congress about to meet at Philadelphia. One of these meetings, held in the "Fields" in New York, was addressed by a youth of seventeen. The stripling charmed his hearers by his fervor, as he grappled with the question and presented with clearness the main points at issue. When he closed, a whisper ran through the crowd, "It is a collegian." The youth was Alexander Hamilton, a native of St. Kitts, of Scotch and French descent, his mother a Huguenot. The son combined the caution of the Scot with the vivacity of the Gaul. At an early age he lost his mother, whose memory he cherished with the greatest devotion. "A father's care he seems never to have known." At the age of twelve he was thrown upon the world to depend upon his own resources. He came to Boston, and thence to New York, where he found means to enter King's, since Columbia College. He had been known to the people simply as the West Indian, who walked under the trees in the college green, and unconscious of the observation of others, talked to himself. Henceforth a brilliant mind and untiring energies were to be consecrated to the welfare of the land that had adopted the orphan.

[1] Washington Irving.

CHAP. XXVI.

1774. Sept. 5.

When the time came for the meeting of the General Congress, known as the Old Continental Congress, fifty-five delegates assembled in the Carpenters' Hall, in the city of Philadelphia. Every colony was represented, except Georgia. Martin, the royalist governor, had prevented delegates from being chosen.

Here for the first time assembled the most eminent men of the colonies. They held in their hands, under the Great Disposer of all things, the destinies of a people numbering nearly three millions. Here were names now sacred in the memories of Americans. George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Edward and John Rutledge, Gadsden, Samuel Adams, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Philip Livingston, John Jay, William Livingston, Dr. Witherspoon, President of Princeton College, a Scotch Presbyterian minister, who had come over some years before, but was said to be "as high a son of liberty as any man in America," and others of lesser note, but no less patriotism. They had corresponded with each other, and exchanged views on the subject of their country's wrongs; they had sympathized as brethren, though many of them were to each other personally unknown. It was a momentous crisis, and they felt the responsibility of their position.

The House was organized by electing the aged Peyton Randolph, of Virginia, Speaker, and Charles Thomson, of Pennsylvania, Secretary. A native of Ireland, when a youth he came to America. He was principal of the Quaker High School in Philadelphia, and was proverbial for his truth and honesty.

It was suggested that it would be becoming to open their sessions with prayer. This proposition was thought by some to be inexpedient, since perhaps the delegates could not all join in the same form of worship. At length Samuel Adams, who was a strict Congregationalist, arose and said: "I will willingly join in prayer with any gen-

CHAP. XXVI. 1774.

tleman of piety and virtue, whatever may be his cloth, provided he is a friend of his country." On his motion, the Rev. Mr. Duché, a popular Episcopal clergyman, of Philadelphia, was invited to officiate as chaplain. Mr. Duché accepted the invitation. A rumor, in the mean time, reached Philadelphia that General Gage had bombarded Boston. When the Congress assembled the next morning, anxiety and sympathy were depicted on every countenance. The rumor, though it proved to be false, excited feelings of brotherhood, hitherto unknown.

The chaplain read the thirty-fifth psalm, and then, carried away by his emotions, burst forth into an extemporary prayer to the Lord of Hosts to be their helper. "It seemed," says John Adams, in a letter to his wife, "as if Heaven had ordained that psalm to be read on that morning. He prayed, in language eloquent and sublime, for America, for the Congress, for the province of Massachusetts Bay, and especially for the town of Boston. It has had an excellent effect upon everybody here."

When the prayer was closed, a long and death-like silence ensued, as if each one hesitated "to open a business so momentous." At length Patrick Henry slowly arose, faltering at first, "as if borne down by the weight of his subject;" but the fires of his wonted eloquence began to glow, as he recited the colonial wrongs already endured, and foretold those yet to come. "Rising, as he advanced, with the grandeur of his subject, and glowing at length with all the majesty and expectation of the occasion, his speech seemed more than that of mortal man." He inspired the entire Congress with his liberal sentiments; they found a response in every heart when he exclaimed: "British oppression has effaced the boundaries of the several colonies; the distinctions between Virginians, Pennsylvanians, New Yorkers, and New Englanders, are no more. I am not a Virginian, but an American." When he closed, the members were not

merely astonished at his matchless eloquence, but the importance of the subject had overwhelmed them.

The Congress appointed a committee, which drew up a "Declaration of Rights." In this they enumerated their natural rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; as British subjects, they claimed to participate in making their own laws; in imposing their own taxes; the right of trial by jury in the vicinage; of holding public meetings, and of petitioning for redress of grievances. They protested against a standing army in the colonies without their consent, and against eleven acts passed since the accession of George III., as violating the rights of the colonies. It was added, "To these grievous acts and measures Americans cannot submit."

To obtain redress they resolved to enter upon peaceable measures. They agreed to form an "American Association," in whose articles they pledged themselves not to trade with Great Britain or the West Indies, nor with those engaged in the slave-trade—which was especially denounced—not to use British goods or tea, and not to trade with any colony which would refuse to join the association. Committees were to be appointed in the various districts to see that these articles were strictly carried into effect.

Elaborate papers were also issued, in which the views of the Congress were set forth still more fully. A petition to the king was written by John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania; he also wrote an Address to the people of Canada. The Memorial to the people of the colonies was written by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and the Address to the people of Great Britain by John Jay, of New York.

Every measure was carefully discussed, and though on some points there was much diversity of opinion, yet, as Congress sat with closed doors, only the results of these discussions went forth to the country, embodied in resolu-

CHAP. XXVI. 1774.

tions, and signed by the members. These papers attracted the attention of thinking men in England. Said Chatham, "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must avow, and I have studied the master states of the world, I know not the people, or senate, who, for solidity of reason, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in General Congress at Philadelphia. The histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing to equal it, and all attempts to impose servitude upon such a mighty continental nation, must be vain."

CHAPTER XXVII.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Spirit of the People.—Gage alarmed.—The People seize Guns and Ammunition.—The Massachusetts Provincial Congress; its Measures.—Parliament passes the Restraining Bill.—Conflicts at Lexington and Concord.—Volunteers fly to Arms, and beleaguer Boston.—Stark.—Putnam.—Benedict Arnold.—Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys.—Capture of Ticonderoga.—Lord Dunmore in Virginia.—Patrick Henry and the Independent Companies.—The News from Lexington rouses a Spirit of Resistance.—The second Continental Congress; it takes decisive Measures; adopts the Army before Boston, and appoints Washington Commander-in-chief.

WHILE Congress was yet in session, affairs began to wear a serious aspect in and around Boston. The people were practising military exercises. Every village and district had its company of *minute-men*—men pledged to each other to be ready for action at a minute's warning. England soon furnished them an occasion. The ministry prohibited the exportation of military stores to America, and sent secret orders to the royal governors, to seize all the arms and gunpowder in the magazines. Gage complied with these orders. When it became known that he had secretly sent a company of soldiers by night, who had seized the powder in the arsenal at Charlestown, and conveyed it to Castle William, the minute-men assembled at once. Their eagerness to go to the governor and compel him to restore it to the arsenal could scarcely be restrained.

Ere long various rumors were rife in the country—that Boston was to be attacked; that the fleet was bombarding

CHAP. XXVII. 1774.

it; that the soldiers were shooting down the citizens in its streets. Thousands of the sturdy yeomanry of Massachusetts and Connecticut credited these rumors; they left their farms and their shops, and hastened to the rescue. Before they had advanced far they learned that the reports were untrue. General Gage was alarmed by this significant movement; he did not apprehend its full import, neither did he rightly discern the signs of the times, nor read the spirit of the people; he was a soldier, and understood the power that lies in soldiers and fortifications, but knew nothing of the power of free principles. He determined to fortify the neck which connects Boston with the mainland, and place there a regiment, to cut off all communication between the people in the country and those in the town.

1774. Dec. 13.

Intelligence of these proceedings spread rapidly through the land. The people took possession of the arsenal at Charlestown, from which the powder had been removed. At Portsmouth, in New Hampshire, a company led by John Sullivan, afterward a major-general, captured the fort, and carried off one hundred barrels of powder and some cannon. At Newport, in the absence of the men-of-war, forty-four pieces of artillery were seized and conveyed to Providence. In Connecticut, the Assembly enjoined upon the towns to lay in a double supply of ammunition, to mount their cannon, and to train the militia frequently. This spirit was not confined to New England, but prevailed in the middle and southern colonies, where the people took energetic measures to put themselves in a posture of defence.

Oct. 5.

In the midst of this commotion, Gage, thinking to conciliate, summoned the Massachusetts Assembly to meet at Salem; but, alarmed at the spirit manifested at the town meetings in the province, he countermanded the order. The Assembly, however, met; and as no one appeared to administer the oaths, and open the session, the

members adjourned to Concord, and there organized as a Provincial Congress. They elected John Hancock President, and Benjamin Lincoln Secretary. Lincoln was a farmer, and afterward became an efficient major-general in the revolutionary army. This was the first provincial Assembly organized independently of royal authority. CHAP. XXVII. 1774.

They sent an address to Gage, in which they complained of the recent acts of Parliament; of his own high-handed measures; of his fortifying Boston Neck, and requested him to desist; at the same time they protested their loyalty to the king, and their desire for peace and order. Gage replied that he was acting in self-defence, and admonished them to desist from their own unlawful proceedings.

The Assembly disregarded the admonition, went quietly to work, appointed two committees, one of safety, and the other of supplies,—the former was empowered to call out the minute-men, when it was necessary, and the latter to supply them with provisions of all kinds. They then appointed two general officers—Artemas Ward, one of the judges of the court, and Seth Pomeroy, a veteran of threescore and ten, who had seen service in the French war. They resolved to enlist twelve thousand minute-men, and invited the other New England colonies to increase the number to twenty thousand. The note of alarm was everywhere heard; preparations for defence were everywhere apparent. In Virginia the militia companies burnished their arms and practised their exercises. Washington, their highest military authority, was invited, and often visited different parts of the country, to inspect these volunteers on their review days.

The attention of all was now turned to the new Parliament about to assemble. To some extent, a change had come over the minds of many of the English people; the religious sympathies of the Dissenters were specially enlisted in favor of the colonists. The papers issued by 1775. Jan. 20.

CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

the Continental Congress had been published and circulated extensively in England, by the exertions of Franklin and others. Their plain, unvarnished statements of facts, and their claim for the colonists to enjoy British as well as natural rights, had elicited sympathy.

Chatham, though much enfeebled, hurried up to London to plead once more for American rights. He brought in a bill, which he hoped would remove the difficulties; but the House spurned every scheme of reconciliation short of absolute submission on the part of the colonists. Lord North, urged on by his colleagues in the ministry, whom he had not strength of will to resist, went further than ever. The Boston Port Bill had not accomplished its design; and now he introduced what was termed the New England Restraining Bill, which deprived the people of those colonies of the privilege of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland. He declared Massachusetts was in rebellion, and the other colonies, by their associations, were aiding and abetting her. Parliament pledged itself to aid the king in maintaining his authority.

Mar. The next month came intelligence to England, that the Colonial Assemblies had not only approved the resolutions of the Continental Congress, but had determined to support them. To punish them for this audacity, Parliament passed a second Restraining Act, to apply to all the colonies except New York, Delaware, and North Carolina. The object of this mark of favor signally failed; these colonies could not be bribed to desert their sisters.

General Gage had learned, by means of spies, that at Concord, eighteen miles from Boston, the patriots had collected ammunition and military stores. These he determined to destroy. His preparations were made with the greatest secrecy; but the Sons of Liberty were vigilant. Dr. Warren, one of the committee of safety, noticed the unusual stir; the collection of boats at certain points;

that the light infantry and grenadiers were taken off duty. He sent information of what he had seen and suspected to John Hancock and Samuel Adams, who were at Lexington. It was rightly surmised that Concord was the object of the intended expedition. It was to leave Boston on the night of the eighteenth of April; on that day Gage issued orders forbidding any one to leave the town after dark. Again the vigilance of Warren had anticipated him. Before his order could go into effect, Paul Revere and William Dawes, two swift and trusty messengers, were on the way to the country, by different routes. A lantern held out from the steeple of the North Church—the concerted signal to the patriots in Charlestown—warned them that something unusual was going on. Messengers from that place hurried to rouse the country.

April 18.

About ten o'clock, under cover of the darkness, eight or nine hundred men, light infantry and grenadiers, embarked and crossed to Cambridge, and thence, with as little noise as possible, took up their line of march. To their surprise they heard in advance of them the tolling of bells, and the firing of alarm guns; evidently they were discovered. Lieutenant-colonel Smith sent back to Gage for reinforcements, and also ordered Major Pitcairn to press forward, and seize the two bridges at Concord. Pitcairn advanced rapidly and arrested every person he met or overtook, but a countryman, who evaded him, spurred on to Lexington, and gave the alarm. At dawn of day Pitcairn's division reached that place. Seventy or eighty minute-men, with some other persons, were on the green. They were uncertain as to the object of the British. It was thought they wished to arrest Hancock and Adams, both of whom had left the place. Pitcairn ordered his men to halt and load their muskets; then riding up he cried out,—"Disperse, you rebels." "Down with your arms, you villains, and disperse," was echoed by his officers. Confusion ensued; random shots were

April 19.

CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

fired on both sides; then, by a volley from the British, seven men were killed and nine wounded. The Americans dispersed, and the British soldiers gave three cheers for their victory! By whom the first shot was fired is uncertain. Each party charged it upon the other. Be that as it may, here was commenced the eight years' war of the revolution.

Presently Colonel Smith came up, and in half an hour the entire body moved on toward Concord, six miles distant. Information of the firing at Lexington had already reached that place. The minute-men were assembled on the green near the church. About seven o'clock the enemy appeared, in two divisions. The minute-men retreated across a bridge to the top of a neighboring hill. The British placed a strong guard at the bridge, and spent two hours in destroying what stores they could find, as the greater part had been concealed, and pillaging some private dwellings. Meantime the little company on the hill increased rapidly, and soon it numbered about four hundred and fifty. They advanced upon the guard, who fired upon them, and skirmishing commenced. As the British began to retreat they were followed by an irregular and galling fire from behind trees, and fences, and houses. In vain they sent flanking-parties to free themselves from their assailants, who were increasing every minute; the nimble yeomanry would retire before these parties, only to appear at a more favorable point. Colonel Smith was severely wounded, and many of his men killed. He had consumed more than two hours in retreating to Lexington; there, fortunately for him, Lord Percy, who insultingly had marched out of Boston to the tune of Yankee Doodle, met him with a thousand men and two field-pieces. The fainting and exhausted troops were received in a hollow square, where they rested, while the fresh soldiers kept the indomitable "rebels" at bay with their field-pieces.

While the enemy were thus halting, General Heath,

whom the Massachusetts Provincial Congress had appointed to command the minute-men, came upon the ground, and also Dr. Warren. They directed the Americans, whose attacks were now more in concert, but still irregular. The British set fire to dwellings in Lexington, then renewed their retreat, pillaging and burning as they went. The Americans, greatly exasperated, harassed them at every step. Lord Percy's condition became very critical. The country was roused; new assailants poured in from every side; every moment he was more and more encumbered by the number of the wounded, while his ammunition was nearly exhausted. Had he been delayed an hour longer, his retreat would have been cut off by a powerful force from Marblehead and Salem. "If the retreat," writes Washington, "had not been as precipitate as it was—and God knows it could not well have been more so—the ministerial troops must have surrendered, or been totally cut off." In this affair, about eighty of the Americans were killed or wounded, and of the British nearly three hundred.

Intelligence of this conflict spread rapidly through the country; couriers hastened from colony to colony. In New England, volunteers flew to arms, and in ten days an irregular army completely blockaded the British in Boston, by a line of encampments, that extended from Roxbury to beyond Charlestown—a distance of nine miles. The fire of other days glowed in the breasts of the old campaigners of the French war,—none were more ready than they. John Stark, whom we have seen leading his men in that war, waited not for invitation nor commission; in ten minutes after he heard the news he was on his way. Israel Putnam, another name associated with deeds of daring in French and Indian warfare, was laboring in his field when the courier passed along. He left the work, mounted a horse, roused his neighbors, and, without changing his clothes, hastened to Boston. Putnam was

CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

a native of Salem, Massachusetts, but for many years a resident of Connecticut. Though now almost sixty years of age, he was buoyant in spirits as a boy, impulsive and frank as he was fearless, and too generous to suspect others of guile.

At this crisis, the Massachusetts Congress took energetic measures. A regiment of artillery was formed, the command of which was given to the aged Gridley, who, thirty years before, commanded the artillery at the taking of Louisburg. In the other colonies, the people were not inactive; they seized arms and ammunition wherever found, repudiated the royal authority, and each for itself called a Provincial Congress.

It was suggested to the Massachusetts Committee of Safety to seize the two posts, Ticonderoga and Crown Point, on Lake Champlain, and thus secure the "key of Canada," as well as the cannon and other military stores there deposited. Benedict Arnold, who commanded a company in the camp before Boston, entered into the project with great ardor. Arnold was a man of impulsive temper, petulant, headstrong, and reckless of danger; he thirsted for an opportunity to distinguish himself. The Committee gave him the commission of colonel, with authority to raise men and accomplish the object. He learned that others were engaged in the same enterprise, and without waiting to enlist men, he set out immediately for Vermont. There he met the redoubtable Ethan Allen—an original character—who from his very singularities exerted a great influence over his companions. When he harangued them, as he often did, "his style, though a singular compound of local barbarisms, and scriptural phrases, and oriental wildness, was highly animated and forcible." The territory now known as the State of Vermont, was claimed at this time by both New York and New Hampshire; but the inhabitants preferred to live

under the rule of the latter, and formed combinations to resist the authority of New York. Allen was the leader of "the Green Mountain Boys," as association formed for this purpose.

These Green Mountain Boys, numbering about two hundred and seventy, with Allen at their head, were already on their way to Ticonderoga. Within a few miles of the head of Lake Champlain, Arnold overtook them. By virtue of his commission as colonel, he ordered Allen to surrender the command into his hands. Allen refused, nor would his men march under any other leader. It was finally arranged that Arnold should go as a volunteer, retaining the rank of colonel without the command. The following night the party reached Shoreham, a point on the lake opposite Ticonderoga. At dawn of day, as they had but few boats, only eighty-three men with Arnold and Allen had crossed over.

May 10.

They could delay no longer, lest they should be discovered, and Allen proposed to move on at once to the fort. Guided by a boy of the neighborhood, a brisk run up the hill soon brought them to the entrance. They secured the two sentinels, one of whom they compelled to show the way to the quarters of Captain Delaplace, the commandant. The vigorous knocks of Allen at his door soon roused him. When he appeared, half-awake and half-dressed, Allen flourished his sword, and called upon him to surrender the fort. The commandant stammered out, "By whose authority do you act?" "In the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress," thundered Allen. This was a demonstration not to be resisted. The cheers of Allen's men had already roused the garrison, all of whom were taken prisoners.

Two days later Seth Warner, Allen's lieutenant, with a detachment, took Crown Point. Arnold then obtained boats, pushed on, and captured St. John's in the Sorel. Altogether, sixty prisoners were taken, and what was far

CHAP. XXVII. 1776.

more important, two hundred cannons and a large supply of gunpowder.

Two days after the affair at Lexington, Lord Dunmore, governor of Virginia, sent a company of marines, who, in the night, entered the capital, Williamsburg, and carried off from the public arsenal about twenty barrels of powder, and conveyed them on board an armed schooner lying in James river. When the inhabitants learned the fact the next morning, they were greatly exasperated. Numbers flew to arms with the intention of recovering the powder. By the persuasions of the leading citizens, and of the council, they were restrained from acts of violence.

April 20.

The Council, however, addressed a remonstrance to the governor, who promised, verbally, to restore the powder when it should be needed. The people deemed his answer unsatisfactory. When intelligence came of the conflict at Concord, it flashed upon their minds that the seizure of the powder and munitions of war in the colonies was concerted by the royal governors, in accordance with instructions from the ministry.

May 2.

Patrick Henry invited the independent companies of the county of Hanover to meet him at a certain place on the second of May. They, seven hundred strong, obeyed the call. He made known why they were called together; spoke of the fight at Concord, and the occasion of it. Then, at their head, he marched towards Williamsburg, determined either to have the powder returned, or its value in money. On their way a messenger from the frightened governor met them, and tendered the money for the full value of the powder. The money was afterward sent to Congress.

The companies now disbanded, with the understanding that when called upon, they were to be ready to march at a minute's warning. Thus did Virginia emulate Massachusetts.

Dunmore, in the mean while, fled with his family on board a man-of-war, and thence issued one of his harmless proclamations, in which he declared "a certain Patrick Henry and his associates to be in rebellion."

A few days before he had said, "The whole country can easily be made a solitude;" and he threatened to declare freedom to the slaves, arm them, and lay Williamsburg in ashes!

As the news from Lexington and Concord reached the various portions of the colonies the people rose in opposition. The whigs were indignant at the outrage, and the royalists censured Gage for his rash and harsh measures.

In New York, the Sons of Liberty, with Robert Sears, the sturdy mechanic, at their head, seized eighty thousand pounds of flour, which was on board of sloops ready to be taken to Boston for the king's troops; they shut up the custom-house, and forbade vessels to leave the harbor for any colony of port which acknowledged British authority; they secured the arms and ammunition belonging to the city, while the volunteers turned out and paraded the streets. The General Committee was dilatory; another was chosen to act with more energy. An association was formed whose members pledged themselves, "under all ties of religion, honor, and love of country, to submit to committees and to Congress, to withhold supples from the British troops, and, at the risk of lives and fortunes, to repel every attempt at enforcing taxation by Parliament."

Similar was the spirit manifested in the Jerseys. In Philadelphia, thousands of the citizens assembled and resolved, "To associate for the purpose of defending with arms, their lives, their property, and liberty." Thomas Mifflin, the warlike young Quaker, urged them in his speech, "not to be bold in declarations and cold in action." Military companies were formed in the neighbor-

CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

ing counties, as well as in the city, who armed themselves and daily practised their exercises.

In Maryland, Eden, the royalist governor, in order to conciliate, gave up to the people the arms and ammunition of the province.

In Charleston, the people at once distributed the twelve hundred stand of arms which they seized in the royal arsenal, while the Provincial Congress, with Henry Laurens, a Huguenot by descent, as their president, declared themselves "ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes to secure freedom and safety." The officers of the militia threw up their commissions from the governor, and declared themselves ready to submit to the authority of Congress. Regiments of infantry and rangers were immediately raised.

Georgia, which had hitherto been lukewarm, now took decided ground. The people broke into the royal magazine, from which they took all the powder, five hundred pounds. The committee wrote words of encouragement and commendation to the people of Massachusetts, and sent them rice and specie.

In North Carolina, as the news passed from place to place, it awakened the spirit of resistance to tyranny. The highlands along her western frontier were settled by Presbyterians of Scotch-Irish descent, "who were said to possess the impulsiveness of the Irishman with the dogged resolution of the Covenanter." A county convention was in session when the courier arrived. Fired with indignation, the delegates resolved to throw off "the authority of the king and Parliament." Ephraim Brevard, "trained in the college at Princeton," and afterward a martyr in the cause, embodied their sentiments in resolutions, which declared: "All laws and commissions, confirmed by or derived from the authority of the king and Parliament
May. to be annulled and vacated." To maintain their rights, they also determined to form nine military companies,

and to frame laws for the internal government of the country. This was the famous Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence. CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

Such was the spirit that pervaded the minds of the entire people. Throughout the land free principles had laid the train—the spark was applied at Lexington.

On the tenth of May the second Continental Congress commenced its session at Philadelphia. They organized without changing the officers of the year before. In a few days, however, Peyton Randolph resigned the presidency to return to Virginia and preside over the Assembly, which had been called by the governor. May 10.

Thomas Jefferson was sent to supply his place as a delegate, and John Hancock was elected president. Harrison, of Virginia, in conducting him to the chair, said: "We will show Britain how much we value her proscriptions." For it was well known that Hancock and Samuel Adams were deemed rebels too great to be pardoned.

Dr. Franklin had returned only a few days before from England, where he had been for some years in the capacity of agent for some of the colonies. There his enlightened statesmanship and far-seeing judgment had won the respect of liberal-minded Englishmen. He was at once chosen a delegate. Also, in addition to the members of the first Congress, appeared George Clinton and Robert R. Livingston, from New York.

The members were encouraged, for the measures of the first Congress had been approved by the assemblies of all the colonies.

The first General Congress met to protest and petition; the second to assume authority and take decisive measures. Then the door was open for reconciliation with the mother country, now it was almost closed. The face of affairs was changed; blood had been wantonly

CHAP. XXVII.

1775.

shed, and a beleaguering host of rustic soldiery were besieging the enemy.

Congress was imbued with the spirit of the time. In committee of the whole reports were called for on the state of the country. These disposed of, they passed to other matters; reviewed the events of the last year; investigated the causes which led to the conflicts at Lexington and Concord. The timid proposed to memorialize Parliament once more. No! argued John Adams, and many others; it is useless, we have been spurned from the throne, and our petitions treated with contempt; such a memorial would embarrass our proceedings, and have no influence upon Parliament. Yet another petition was, in form, voted to the king, and while they denied any intention to cast off their allegiance, they proceeded to put the colonies in a posture of defence.

They formed a "Federal Union," by whose provisions each colony was to manage its own internal concerns; but all measures pertaining to the whole community, such as treaties of peace or alliance, the regulation of commerce, or declaration of war, came under the jurisdiction of Congress. They recognized Him who holds in His hands the destinies of nations. They issued a proclamation for a day of solemn fasting and prayer.

Congress now assumed the authority of the central power of the nation. They forbade persons, under any circumstances, to furnish provisions to the British navy or troops; took measures to enlist an army and to build fortifications, and to procure arms and ammunition. To defray expenses, they issued "Bills of Credit," amounting to two millions of dollars, for whose redemption they pledged the faith of the "United Colonies." In accordance with the request of the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts, they adopted the volunteers in the camp before Boston, as the continental army. It remained to appoint a Commander-in-chief. On this subject there were diver-

sities of opinion. Some thought a New England army would prefer a New England commander; others strove to appoint a commander acceptable to all sections of the country. The members of Congress acknowledged the military talents of Washington, and appreciated his liberal views as a statesman. As chairman of the committee on military affairs, he had suggested the majority of the rules for the army, and of the measures for defence. At this time came intimations in a private letter from Dr. Warren to Samuel Adams, that many leading men in Massachusetts desired his appointment as commander-in-chief.

Patrick Henry, when asked, on his return home from the first Congress, who of the members was the greatest man, had replied, "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is, by far, the greatest orator; but if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on that floor."

John Adams took occasion to point out what, under the present circumstances, should be the qualifications of a commander-in-chief, and closed by remarking, that they knew a man who had these qualifications—"a member of this house from Virginia." He alluded to Washington. A few days after, the army was regularly adopted, and the salary of the commander-in-chief fixed at five hundred dollars a month. That arranged, Mr. Johnson, of Maryland, nominated Washington for the office. The election was by ballot, and he was unanimously chosen. The next day the president of Congress formally announced to him his election. Washington rose in his seat and briefly expressed his gratitude for the unexpected honor, and his devotion to the cause. Then he added, "I beg it may be remembered by every gentleman in this room, that I this day declare, with the utmost sincerity,

June 15.

CHAP. XXVII. 1775.

I do not think myself equal to the command I am honored with." Refusing any pay, he continued, "I will keep an exact account of my expenses. Those, I doubt not, they will discharge, and that is all I desire." Congress resolved "to maintain and assist, and adhere to him with their lives and fortunes in the defence of American liberty."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION.

Battle of Bunker Hill.—Death of Warren.—Washington on his way to join the Army.—Generals Charles Lee and Schuyler.—State of Affairs in New York.—Sir William Johnson.—The Condition of the Army.—Nathaniel Greene.—Morgan and his Riflemen.—Wants of the Army.—Difficulties on Lake Champlain.—Expedition against Canada.—Richard Montgomery.—Allen's rash Adventure.—Montreal captured.—Arnold's toilsome March to Quebec.—That Place besieged.—Failure to storm the Town.—Death of Montgomery.—Arnold in his Icy-Fortress.

1775. May 25.

For two months the armies in and around Boston had watched each other. General Gage, in the mean time, had received large reinforcements. These were led by three commanders of reputation: Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Henry Clinton. We may judge of the surprise of these generals to find the king's regulars "hemmed in by what they termed a rustic rout, with calico frocks and fowling-pieces." "What!" exclaimed Burgoyne, "ten thousand peasants keep five thousand king's troops shut up! Well, let us get in, and we'll soon find elbow-room." This vain boast was followed by no decided movement. Gage merely sent forth a proclamation, declared the province under martial law, and offered pardon to all the rebels who should return to their allegiance, except Samuel Adams and John Hancock. These "rebels" were placed beyond the pale of the king's mercy.

The patriot soldiers, numbering about fifteen thousand, had come from their various towns, in independent companies, under their own leaders; their friends in their

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

respective towns supplied them with provisions. The Massachusetts troops were under General Ward; John Stark led the New Hampshire volunteers; Putnam commanded those from Connecticut, and Nathaniel Greene the regiment from Rhode Island. The artillery, consisting of nine pieces, was under the control of the venerable Colonel Gridley. The great majority of the soldiers were clad in their homespun working clothes; some had rifles and some had fowling-pieces. The British greatly exasperated them by taunts and acts expressive of contempt. Opposed to the motley group of patriot soldiers, was a well-disciplined army of ten thousand men, under experienced commanders.

It was rumored that Gage intended to seize and fortify Bunker's Hill and Dorchester Heights—the one lying north and the other south of the town. In order to prevent this, some of the patriots proposed that they should take possession of the hill themselves. The more cautious were opposed to the enterprise, as extremely hazardous; it might provoke a general action, and they were deficient in ammunition and guns. But the fearless Putnam felt confident, with proper intrenchments, the patriots could not fail of success. "The Americans," said he, "are never afraid of their heads, they only think of their legs; shelter *them*, and they will fight forever." It was reported that the enemy intended to seize Bunker Hill on the night of the eighteenth of June, and therefore not a moment was to be lost. On the evening of Friday the sixteenth, a company of about twelve hundred men, with their arms, and provisions for twenty-four hours, assembled on the common at Cambridge. Very few of them knew where they were going, but all knew that it was into danger. Prayer was offered by President Langdon, of Harvard College. About nine o'clock they commenced their march, under the command of Colonel William Prescott, a veteran of the French war; one in whom the

June 16.

soldiers had implicit confidence. Charlestown Neck was strongly guarded, but they passed over it in safety, and were soon on the ground. Bunker Hill was designated in the orders, but Breed's Hill, as it had a better command of the harbor, was fortified instead. The ground was speedily marked out, and about midnight the men commenced their labors. Early daylight revealed to the astonished eyes of the British sailors in the harbor the strong redoubt that had sprung up so suddenly on the hill-top, and the Americans still busy at their work. Without waiting for orders, the sloop-of-war Lively opened her guns upon them; a floating battery and other ships did the same. The firing roused the people of Boston. Gage, through his spy-glass, noticed Prescott, who was on the parapet inspecting the works. "Who is that officer in command," he asked; "will he fight?" "He is an old soldier, and will fight to the last drop of his blood," replied one who knew Prescott well. "The works must be carried," remarked Gage. An hour later the plan of attack was decided upon by a council of war.

From the heights the Americans saw and heard the bustle of preparation. Repeated messages were sent to General Ward for the promised reinforcements. Putnam hurried to Cambridge to urge the demand in person. Ward hesitated lest he should weaken the main division. It was eleven o'clock before Stark and Reed, with their regiments, were ordered to the relief of Prescott, and the wearied soldiers, who had been laboring all night at the redoubt.

About noon, twenty-eight barges filled with soldiers, under the command of Generals Howe and Pigott, left Boston. The ships kept up an incessant cannonade to cover their landing. General Howe discovered that the works were stronger than he anticipated, and he sent to General Gage for reinforcements; his men, while waiting, were regaled with refreshments and "grog." Meantime

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775. the Americans strengthened their works, and formed a rustic breastwork; to do this, they pulled up a post-and-rail fence, placed it behind a stone fence, and filled the space between with new-mown grass. This extended down the side of the hill north of the redoubt to a swamp.

Now they were cheered by the sight of Stark, who appeared with five hundred men. As he marched leisurely along, some one suggested a rapid movement. The veteran replied, "One fresh man in action is worth ten tired ones;" and he moved quietly on. A part of his force halted with Putnam at Bunker Hill, and a part joined Knowlton behind the fence breastwork. About two o'clock, Dr. Warren, who had recently been appointed major-general, but had not received his commission, arrived. He came, as did Pomeroy, to serve in the ranks. When Putnam pointed him to the redoubt, and said, "There you will be under cover," "Don't think," replied Warren, "that I seek a place of safety—where will the attack be the hottest?" Still pointing to the same spot Putnam answered: "*That* is the enemy's object; if that can be maintained the day is ours." When Warren entered the redoubt, the soldiers received him with hearty cheers. Prescott offered him the command, which he gracefully declined, saying: "I shall be happy to learn from a soldier of your experience."

The day was clear and bright: the British, in their brilliant uniforms, presented a fine appearance. Thousands watched every movement from the house-tops in Boston and from the neighboring hills. Fathers, husbands, sons, and brothers were to meet the enemy, for the first time, in a regular battle. The expedition had commenced with prayer on Cambridge green, and now minister McClintock, of New Hampshire, was passing among the men praying and exhorting them to stand firm.

About half-past two o'clock, the British, confident of an easy victory, advanced; one division, under General

Pigott, marched up the hill to storm the redoubt in front, while the other, under General Howe, advanced against the fence breastwork, in order to gain the rear and cut off the retreat. The redoubt was commanded by Prescott. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, with some of the New Hampshire and Connecticut men, were at the fence. As he saw the enemy advancing, Prescott, with his usual presence of mind, passed among his men and encouraged them. "The redcoats," said he, "will never reach the redoubt, if you will but withhold your fire till I give the order, and be careful not to shoot over their heads." The impetuous Putnam, who seems to have had no special command, was everywhere. "Wait till you see the whites of their eyes, aim at their waistbands, pick off the handsome coats, steady my lads," were his directions as he rode along the lines. "Wait for orders and fire low," was the policy that controlled the movements on Bunker Hill.

The British, as they advanced, kept up an incessant discharge of musketry. Not a sound issued from the Americans. When Pigott's division came within forty paces, those in the redoubt levelled their guns for a moment, then Prescott gave the word: "Fire!" Whole ranks were cut down. The enemy fell back, but urged on by their officers, again advanced. The Americans allowed them to come nearer than before, but received them more warmly. The carnage was dreadful; Pigott himself ordered a retreat. At the same moment Howe's division was also retreating. The brave band who guarded the fence, had allowed him to advance within thirty paces, then had poured in their reserved fire with deadly effect. Both divisions retired down the hill to the shore. Gage had threatened that he would burn the town of Charlestown if the Americans should occupy the heights. The threat was now carried into execution by bombs thrown from the ships and Copp's Hill. The conflagration added new horrors to the scene.

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

The British resolved upon a second attack. This proved a counterpart of the first. By volleys discharged at the right moment, and with unerring aim, their whole force was driven back. Their officers labored to check them, even urged them on with their swords, but in vain, they retreated to the shore. "If we drive them back once more," exclaimed Prescott, "they cannot rally again." "We are ready for the redcoats again," was the response from the redoubt.

General Clinton watched the movements from Copp's Hill. He witnessed the repulse of the "king's regulars" with astonishment; he hastened over as a volunteer with reinforcements. Some officers were opposed to another attack; they thought it little short of butchery to lead men in the face of such sharp-shooting. Now they learned that the ammunition of the Americans was nearly exhausted. They resolved to carry the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The attack was to be specially directed against an open space which they had noticed between the breastwork and the fortified fence. The Americans used what little powder they had with great effect; they could pour in but a single volley upon the enemy; but by this a number of British officers were slain. The British, however, advanced with fixed bayonets, and assailed the redoubt on three sides. The first who appeared on the parapet, as he cried out, "The day is ours," was shot down. Now followed a desperate encounter; those Americans who had not bayonets fought with stones and the butts of their muskets. It was impossible to maintain the ground; Prescott gave the word, and they commenced an orderly retreat. The aged Pomeroy clubbed his musket and retreated with his face to the enemy. Stark, Knowlton, and Reed, kept their position at the fence till their companions had left the redoubt and passed down the hill, and thus prevented the enemy from cutting off the retreat; then they slowly retired.

About three thousand British were engaged in this battle, and about fifteen hundred Americans. The British lost more than one thousand men, an unusual proportion of whom were officers, among whom was Major Pitcairn, of Lexington memory; while the Americans lost but four hundred and fifty, but among these was Dr. Warren. He was one of the last to leave the redoubt; he had scarcely passed beyond it when he fell. On the morning of that day he had expressed himself willing, if necessary, to die for his country.—That country has embalmed his name as one of the bravest and noblest of her sons.

The raw militia had met the British "regulars," and had proved themselves their equals; they left the field only when destitute of ammunition.

The British ministry was not satisfied with this victory, nor were the Americans discouraged by this defeat. When the news of the battle reached England, General Gage was at once recalled. When Washington learned of it from the courier who was hastening to Congress with the news, he exclaimed: "The liberties of the country are safe!"

This famous battle took place on the seventeenth of June; on the twenty-first Washington, accompanied by Generals Lee and Schuyler, left Philadelphia to join the army as Commander-in-chief. General Charles Lee was an Englishman by birth; a soldier by profession, he had been engaged in campaigns in various parts of Europe, and in the French war. Frank in disposition, but sarcastic in manner, and evidently soured by disappointment, he had resigned the British service, and for some reason indulged in feelings of bitter animosity to the English name. His connection with their cause was counted of great consequence by the Americans.

General Philip Schuyler was a native of New York, of Dutch descent. As a man of wealth, position, education, and well-known integrity, he had great influence in

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

that province. He had some experience, also, in military affairs; during the French war, when a youth of two and twenty, he campaigned with Sir William Johnson and his Mohawks. Though in his native province the rich and influential were generally loyalists, from the beginning of the troubles Schuyler ardently espoused the cause of the colonists. He was versed in civil affairs, having been a member of the New York General Assembly, and recently a delegate to Congress, where his practical good sense had attracted attention. At this time, danger was apprehended from the Mohawks, who lived in the northern and central parts of New York. It was feared that, influenced by the Johnson family, they would rally against the colonists. Sir William Johnson, of whom we have spoken, the ancestor of this family, was of Scotch-Irish descent, a man of vigorous mind but of coarse associations; he had acquired great influence over the Indians by adopting their customs, had married an Indian wife, sister of Brandt, the chief, afterward so famous. For nearly thirty years he was agent for the Five Nations; he became rich by traffic, and lived in his castle on the Mohawk river, in baronial style, with Scotch Highlanders as tenants. Sir William was dead, but his son and heir, John Johnson, and his son-in-law, Guy Johnson, were suspected of tampering with the Mohawks. No one knew the state of affairs in New York better than Schuyler; he was acquainted with the tory aristocracy; he understood the Johnsons, and to him Washington intrusted the charge of that province.

As a singular incident it may be noted that as Washington approached New York by way of New Jersey, the ship on board of which was the royalist governor Tryon, who was just returning from England, came into the harbor. The committee appointed to do the honors was somewhat perplexed. Fortunately their principles were not tested: these two men, the one the representative of

the Continental Congress, the other of the king, did not reach the city at the same time. The escort that received Washington, were at leisure, a few hours later, to render to Governor Tryon the same honor.

The Commander-in-chief was met at Springfield by the committee of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and escorted to the camp. The greatest enthusiasm prevailed; the soldiers everywhere greeted him with hearty cheers. Such a welcome, while it gratified his feelings, was calculated to increase his sense of responsibility. A great work was before him—a work not yet begun; he was to bring order out of confusion; to lead on the cause of freedom to a successful issue. In his letters written about this time, he expresses a calm trust in a Divine Providence, that wisely orders all things.

A personal survey of the army revealed more perfectly the difficulties to be overcome. It numbered about fourteen thousand men; to be effective, it must be increased to twenty or thirty thousand. The troops were unorganized and undisciplined, without uniforms, poorly clad, and imperfectly armed. To discipline these volunteers would be no easy task; they could not be subjected to strict military rule. Even among this noble band of patriot officers were jealousies to be soothed, and prejudices to be regarded. Some felt that they had been overlooked or underrated in the appointments made by Congress.

A council of war resolved to maintain the present line of works, to capture the British, or drive them out of Boston. Washington chose for his headquarters a central position at Cambridge; here were stationed Major-General Putnam and Brigadier-General Heath. General Artemas Ward was stationed with the right wing at Roxbury, and General Charles Lee commanded the left on Prospect Hill. Under Lee were the Brigadier-Generals Greene and Sullivan, and under Ward the Generals

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

Spencer and Thomas. Of this number, Greene merits special notice. His father a farmer, miller, and anchor smith, as well as occasionally a Quaker preacher, endeavored to train his son in his own faith. The son's tastes were decidedly military. Of a genial disposition, he was fond of social amusements, but never at the expense of things more important. He cultivated his mind by reading the best English authors of the time on science and history; to do this he snatched the moments from daily toil. Industrious and strictly temperate, his perceptions were clear, and his love of order almost a passion. With zest he read books on military tactics, and before he had laid aside the Quaker costume, he took lessons in the science of military drill by watching the exercises and manœuvres of the British troops on parade on Boston Common. Their order and precision had a charm for the embryo general. None took a deeper interest than he in the questions that agitated the country, and he was more than once chosen by the people to represent them in the Colonial Legislature.

The army was now joined by some companies of riflemen, mostly Scotch and Irish; backwoodsmen of Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Maryland, enlisted by orders of Congress. They had marched six hundred miles in twenty days. If their peculiar dress, the hunting-shirt, and their motto, "Liberty or Death," worn on their head-band, their robust appearance, their stature, scarcely one of them being less than six feet, excited admiration, much more did their feats of sharp-shooting. "When advancing at a quick step," it was said, "they could hit a mark of seven inches diameter at a distance of two hundred and fifty yards." Their leader, Daniel Morgan, was a native of New Jersey, though brought up on the frontiers of Virginia. When a youth his education had been neglected; he could scarcely read or write; unpolished in his manners, generous in his impulses, honorable in his own feelings, he instinctively scorned meanness or duplicity in

others. In his twentieth year, as a wagoner, he took his first lessons in warfare in Braddock's unfortunate campaign. His character adapted itself to emergencies. When left to act in responsible situations, his good sense was never at fault; wherever placed he performed well his part.

As soon as he obtained the requisite information, Washington laid before Congress the state of the army, with suggestions as to the best means to furnish it with provisions, munitions, and men. He also suggested that diversities of uniform had a tendency to encourage sectional feelings, and recommended Congress to provide at least ten thousand hunting-shirts, adding, "I know nothing in a speculative view more trivial, yet which, if put in practice, would have a happier tendency to unite the men, and abolish those provincial distinctions that lead to jealousy and dissatisfaction." This was the origin of the peculiar uniform of American soldiers. A few days after this report was sent to Congress it was discovered that, by mistake, a false return of the powder in the camp had been made—the supply was nearly exhausted. This discovery crippled every movement, and left the Americans at the mercy of the enemy should they be attacked. Their only safety lay in silence and inaction. Messengers were hurried in every direction to collect and send to the camp all the powder that could be obtained. In about a fortnight they procured a small supply.

We now turn to affairs in New York, where, it will be remembered, Schuyler had command. After their brave exploits on Lake Champlain, Arnold and Allen both claimed authority over the captured forts—the former referred to Massachusetts, the latter to Connecticut, to confirm their respective claims. As these forts belonged to New York, Allen wrote to the Congress of that province for supplies of men and money to defend them. But the whole matter was, at length, referred to the Continental

CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

Congress, which decided that New York should have the charge of the forts, and authorized it to call upon New England for aid in their defence. The call was made upon Connecticut, in answer to which Colonel Hinman, with a thousand men, was sent to join Arnold. Allen's Green Mountain Boys were by this time disbanded, as their term of enlistment had expired. These war spirits, Arnold and Allen, had urged upon the Continental Congress to furnish them means to invade Canada. Allen, in company with Seth Warner, went in person to that body for authority to raise a new regiment. It was granted, and the New York Congress was recommended to receive this regiment of their ancient enemies into the regular army. They were to choose their own leader. For some reason Warner was chosen, and Allen entirely neglected; but not to be baffled when a fight was on hand, he joined the army as a volunteer. Arnold claimed the entire authority at Ticonderoga, after the departure of Allen, and difficulties arose between him and Hinman. A committee sent from the Congress of Massachusetts to inquire into the matter, decided that the command belonged to Hinman. Arnold swore he would not be second, disbanded his men, threw up his commission, and hurried to Cambridge.

Congress was, at first, opposed to the invasion of Canada, and even thought of dismantling the forts on Lake Champlain. Recent intelligence that the authorities of that province were making preparations to recapture the forts and to regain the command of the lake induced them to determine upon its invasion in self-defence. Schuyler learned that seven hundred of the king's troops were in Canada; that Guy Johnson, with three hundred tenants and Indians, was at Montreal; that St. John's was fortified, and war-vessels were building there, and almost ready to pass by the Sorel into the lake. Yet he was encouraged by rumors that some of the inhabitants were disaffected, and might be induced to join against

the mother country; if so, the British would be deprived of a valuable recruiting station. Two expeditions against Canada were determined upon, one by way of Lake Champlain, the other by the rivers Kennebec and Chaudiere. The former under Schuyler; the latter was intrusted to Arnold, who was in the camp chafed and disappointed, but ready for any daring enterprise that promised distinction. CHAP. XXVIII. 1775.

Operations were to commence by way of the lake, where were assembled the New York troops, and some from New England. Schuyler was ably seconded by Brigadier-general Richard Montgomery. Montgomery was a native of Ireland; had, when a youth, been the companion of Wolfe in the French war. He resigned the British service, and remaining in America, settled in New York, where he married. A man of education and refinement, his generous sentiments led him to espouse ardently the cause of popular rights.

General Schuyler passed from Ticonderoga down the lake and took possession of the Isle aux Noix, in the Sorel river. This position commanded the entrance into Lake Champlain. He then made an attempt on St John's, but finding it more strongly garrisoned than had been represented, he retired to the Isle aux Noix, with the intention of fortifying that important post, but severe sickness compelled him to return to Albany. The command devolved upon Montgomery. Schuyler was soon able to send him supplies and ammunition, and also reinforcements under General Wooster. Sept. 5.

Ethan Allen, as usual, without orders, went on one of his rash expeditions. With only eighty-three men, he attempted to take Montreal, was overpowered and taken prisoner with his men. He himself was sent in irons to England to be tried as a rebel. Here closed the connection of this daring leader of the Green Mountain Boys with the war of the Revolution. He was not tried, but Sept. 24.

CHAP. XXVIII. liberated; then returned home, but from some dissatisfaction took no further part in the struggle.

1775. Montgomery sent a detachment which took Fort Chambly, a few miles further down the river, thus placing troops between St. John's and Canada. Sir Guy Carleton, the governor of that province, made exertions, but without success, to raise a force for the relief of St. John's. But when on his way he was repulsed at the passage of the St. Lawrence by Colonel Seth Warner; another party going up the Sorel on the same errand was

Nov. 3. also driven back. The garrison at St. John's presently surrendered, and immediately the energetic Montgomery pushed on to Montreal, which submitted at the first summons, while Carleton with a few followers fled down the river to Quebec. This was a very seasonable capture for the Americans, as it supplied them with woollen clothes, of which necessaries they were in great need.

Montgomery made great exertions in the midst of discouragements, arising from insubordination, desertions, and the lateness of the season, to push on and join Arnold

Sept. before Quebec. Two months before this time that leader had left the camp before Boston with eleven hundred men, among whom were three companies of riflemen, under Morgan, to pass up the Kennebec, and thence across the wilderness to Quebec, there to unite with the force from New York. Aaron Burr, then a youth of twenty, accompanied this expedition as a volunteer. It was a perilous undertaking. The journey was one of intense suffering and incessant toil. Six weeks they spent in dragging their boats up the river, and carrying the baggage around rapids; they cut their way through thickets and briars, forded streams, climbed mountains, breasted storms, and were so much in want of food that they devoured their dogs, and even their moccasins. Their number was reduced to about six hundred effective men; one entire division had returned home with the sick and disabled.

In a forlorn condition the remainder suddenly appeared at Point Levi, opposite Quebec. The inhabitants were astonished at the apparition, and could Arnold have crossed immediately, he might have taken the town; but he was unable to do so for want of boats. In a few days came Carleton from Montreal; he put the town in a state of defense, and increased his force to twelve hundred men by enlisting traders, sailors, and others. CHAP. XXVIII. 1775. Nov. 9.

Although two armed vessels were on the watch, Arnold managed to cross the St. Lawrence, clambered up the Heights of Abraham by the same rugged path that Wolfe had used, and boldly challenged the garrison to battle. The contest was declined. It was useless for him to attempt to besiege the town without cannon, so he moved twenty miles up the river, where he met Montgomery. The toilsome march through the wilderness nearly stripped Arnold's men of their clothes; the woollens obtained at Montreal were to them also an acceptable protection against the rigors of a Canada winter.

Their united force amounted to only nine hundred men. With these, Montgomery, who assumed the command, advanced to Quebec. The flag he sent to demand a surrender was fired upon. A battery must be built; the ordinary material was not at hand, but ingenuity supplied its place. Gabions were filled with snow and ice, over which water was poured, and a Canada winter soon rendered them solid, but no ingenuity could render the ice otherwise than brittle—every shot from the town shattered it in pieces. It was now found that their cannon were too small. They could not batter the walls, and it was as fruitless to attempt to scale them. Some other plan must be adopted.

It was determined to make a sudden attack on the lower town. Montgomery, with one division, was to advance upon the south side, while Arnold was to make an attempt upon the north. At the same time feint move-

CHAP. XXVIII.

1775. Dec. 31.

ments were to be made against the upper town, and signal rockets fired from the different points to distract and divert the attention of the enemy. On the thirty-first of December a blinding snow-storm favored their enterprise. At two o'clock on the morning of that day they were on the march. The feint that was to cover the movement of Montgomery was successful. Undiscovered he descended from the Heights of Abraham, passing safely around Cape Diamond to the defile that led to the town. The pass, at all times difficult, was now obstructed by ice and drifting snow. It was defended by barriers guarded by Canadian militia. Taken by surprise, they fled from the picket. Montgomery passed the first barrier unopposed. As he stepped beyond it, sanguine and exultant with hope, he exclaimed: "Push on, my brave boys; Quebec is ours!" Just then a single gun loaded with grape-shot was fired from a battery; he fell, and by his side his aids and many others who had answered to his cheering call. The soldiers, disheartened at the fall of their brave leader, were willing to abandon the town, under the lead of Quartermaster Campbell, leaving the bodies of the slain Montgomery, Cheeseman, and MacPherson where they fell.

By some neglect, no feint movement was made to cover the march of Arnold. He was harassed by a flanking fire as he pushed on to the entrance of the town. His leg being shattered by a ball, he was unable to lead his men against the battery. Morgan assumed the command, and with his riflemen stormed it and captured the men. At daylight he reached the second battery, which was also carried; but now the forces of the British were concentrated at this point. Morgan's party made a brave resistance, but were overpowered by numbers and compelled to surrender. He himself was the last to submit. When called upon by the British soldiers to deliver up his sword, he refused, planted himself against a wall, and defied them to take it. They threatened to shoot him; his men expos-

tulated. At length he saw a man—a priest he knew him to be from his dress; to him he gave it, saying: "I will give my sword to you, but not a scoundrel of those cowards shall take it out of my hands." The bravery of Morgan and his men was appreciated by Carleton; as prisoners, they were treated with special kindness. 1775.

Arnold now retired about three miles up the river, and there in a camp whose ramparts were formed of frozen snow and of ice, he blockaded Quebec through the winter. Here we leave him for the present.

Montgomery was at first buried at Quebec. When nearly half a century had passed away, New York remembered her adopted son. She transferred his remains to her metropolis, and with appropriate honors reinterred them in St. Paul's church-yard. 1818.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Meeting of Congress; alarming Evils require its Attention.—British Cruisers.—Portland burned.—Efforts to defend the Coast.—Congress acts with Energy.—Parliament resolves to crush the Rebels.—Henry Knox.—Difficulties in the Army.—Provincial Prejudices.—Success of the Privateers.—British Theatricals.—The Union Flag.—Affairs in New York.—Rivington's Gazette.—Governor Tryon.—General Lee in the City.—The Johnsons.—Dunmore's Measures in Virginia; Norfolk burned.—Defeat of North Carolina Tories.—Lee at the South.—Cannon and Powder obtained.—Dorchester Heights fortified.—Boston Evacuated.—Washington in New York.—British and German Troops in Canada.—Numerous Disasters.—The Retreat from Canada.—Horatio Gates.—A British Fleet before Fort Moultrie.—Gloomy Prospects.

CHAP. XXIX.

1775. Sept. 5. Oct.

When the Continental Congress reassembled, delegates from Georgia took their seats for the first time, and the style was assumed of The Thirteen United Colonies.

During the session a delegate from beyond the mountains presented himself as the representative of the colony of Transylvania, the germ of the present State of Kentucky (settled by those bold pioneers, Boone, Harrod, and Henderson), but the delegate of the fourteenth colony was rejected on the ground that Virginia claimed the territory.

Alarming evils required the prompt attention of Congress. The army was almost destitute of ammunition and military stores; the coast, to a great extent, unprotected; British cruisers hovered on the shores of New England; demanded of the inhabitants supplies; burned

and pillaged the towns. The notorious Captain Wallace was stationed in Narragansett Bay; Stonington and Bristol had been bombarded, and Newport was threatened with destruction. The British Admiral, Graves, it was said, had issued orders to burn all the rebel towns from Halifax to Boston. This was no idle rumor. At Falmouth, now Portland, in Maine, the destruction began. This patriotic little town had, some time before, resolutely repulsed Lieutenant Mowatt of the British navy. One evening he appeared with several vessels in the harbor, prepared to mete out the punishment due for such rebellion. He informed the inhabitants of his intention, and allowed them two hours "to remove the human species out of the town." A further respite until nine o'clock next morning was with difficulty obtained. The people removed during the night; then, by means of bombs and carcasses, this flourishing village of three hundred houses was laid in ashes. The other towns assumed a posture of defence, and avoided a similar ruin.

CHAP. XXIX. 1775. Oct. 7. 18.

The colonies separately took measures to defend their coasts against such attacks. Already Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina had appointed Naval Boards, and equipped armed vessels. The British ships had been driven from the harbor at Charleston; a powder-ship had been captured by a South Carolina vessel. Washington had sent cruisers into the Gulf of St. Lawrence and Massachusetts Bay, to intercept supplies intended for the enemy. One of these, the schooner Lee, commanded by Captain Manly, deserves particular mention. She did the country good service. Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut now equipped a few small vessels. Although a few harbors were thus defended, the force that protected the coast was still insufficient.

Congress applied themselves vigorously to remedy these evils. They forwarded some of the powder seized

CHAP. XXIX.

by the South Carolinians to the camp; appointed a secret committee to import it from the West Indies; took measures to establish mills for its manufacture, and founderies for the making of cannon. They licensed privateers, and ordered gun-boats to be prepared for the defence of the harbors; appointed a Naval Committee which was authorized to build thirteen frigates; but, alas! want of funds interfered sadly with the accomplishment of these proposed measures.

1775. Nov. 25.

Dec. 13.

In this Naval Committee we recognize the germ of the Navy Department. About this time a secret committee was authorized to open a private correspondence with the friends of the cause in England, Ireland, and elsewhere; this grew into the State Department. Thus was the Continental Congress gradually laying the foundation of the present government of the United States.

Parliament, in the meantime, took measures to crush the "rebels;" enacted laws against them, cruel in the extreme; gave orders to treat them in warfare not as equals, but as criminals, who should be thankful to escape the gallows. The ministry proclaimed all ships trading to the colonies lawful prizes; and the crews of all captured colonial trading vessels virtually slaves; these were doomed to serve in the royal navy as marines. Parliament also voted to increase their army in America to forty thousand men—of this number twenty-five thou-

Nov.

sand had yet to be raised. They could not be obtained in Great Britain; men would not enlist. Lord Howe had written to the ministry that Catholic Irish soldiers could not be trusted, and suggested the employment of German troops. Negotiations were accordingly commenced with two of the little German principalities, Brunswick and Hesse Cassel; and the English monarch hired seventeen thousand Germans, or Hessians, to aid him in subduing the descendants of Englishmen in America. In vain did

the best and most humane in Parliament oppose these measures. There was in England an honorable minority, who felt for the cause of the colonists. Burke and Barre stood firm; Conway and the Duke of Grafton resigned their offices and joined the opposition; Lord Effingham and the son of Pitt threw up their commissions in the army rather than take part in the unnatural struggle. The mercantile interests of the country, and especially the Corporation of London, were opposed to the measures of Parliament. Intelligence of them aroused the Americans to greater exertions, and deepened their hostility to the mother country.

Since the battle of Bunker Hill, the armies in and around Boston had been inactive — the British from choice, the Americans from want of ammunition. Washington was anxious to be ready when the bay should be frozen to pass over to the town on the ice. But he must have powder and ordnance.

Henry Knox, a bookseller of Boston, had entered with great zeal into the cause of his country. He had an intuitive skill in the use of artillery, which he first displayed on Bunker Hill, and afterward in planning the defences of the camp. His aptness and energy attracted the attention of Washington. Knox proposed to go to Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and bring from those places the cannon and powder that could be spared. Washington approved the suggestion, wrote to Schuyler at Albany to give his assistance, and to Congress, recommending Knox as colonel of a regiment of artillery. Knox immediately set out.

Other difficulties surrounded the army. The soldiers had enlisted but for one year, their terms would expire before the first of January. In anticipation of this, a committee of the Continental Congress, consisting of Doctor Franklin, Colonel Harrison, of Virginia, and Thomas Lynch, of Carolina, met at Cambridge, with committees

CHAP. XXIX. from the New England colonies, to reorganize the army, and to devise means to increase it to thirty-two thousand.

1775. The committees were in favor of an attack upon Boston as soon as practicable. Their plans were well laid, but how could they be carried out? The soldiers were unwilling to re-enlist; the zeal of the patriot army had begun to flag; winter was coming on; they were ill-fitted to endure its hardships; their fuel was scanty and their clothing poor; their families needed their presence; the attractions of home presented a delightful contrast to the privations of a winter campaign. Their patriotism was not extinct, but they were weary and discouraged. Says Washington, in a letter: "The desire of retiring into a chimney-corner seized the troops as soon as their terms expired."

Those who were willing to re-enlist, would do so only on certain conditions. They must know under what officers they were to be placed. Provincial prejudices had their effect; the men of one colony hesitated to serve with those of another, or under officers not of their own choosing. It is pleasing to record one instance of high-minded patriotism—doubtless there were many. Colonel Asa Whitcombe, a worthy and experienced officer, was not reappointed on account of his advanced age. His men took offence, and refused to re-enlist. The colonel set them an example by enlisting himself as a private soldier. A younger officer immediately resigned the command of his regiment that Whitcombe might be appointed, which was done.

On the first of December, some days before their terms expired, a portion of the Connecticut troops began to return home; they were unwilling even to remain in camp till their places could be supplied. Their arms were retained at an assessed value.

In the midst of this gloom the privateers did good service. The camp was thrown into ecstasies by the

arrival of a long train of wagons laden with military stores. The brave Captain Manly had captured off Cape Ann a brigantine laden with guns, mortars, and working tools, designed for the British army. Among the cannon thus obtained was an immense mortar. This was deemed so great a prize, that in the joy of the moment, it was proposed to give it a name. "Old Putnam mounted it, dashed on it a bottle of rum, and gave it the name of Congress." CHAP. XXIX. 1775.

The blockade of the British was so stringent that they began to suffer seriously for fuel and fresh provisions: they could obtain none from the land side, while the coast was closely watched. Abundant supplies were sent from England, but these were often wrecked or captured. Some of the poorer houses were taken down to supply fuel, and many of the poorer people sent out of the town in order to lessen the demand for provisions.

To the grief of the patriot inhabitants, the Old South Church, that time-honored and sacred edifice, was converted into a riding-school for Burgoyne's light-horse, and the pastor's library used to kindle fires. In retaliation, the soldiers converted the Episcopal church at Cambridge into barracks, and melted the leaden pipes of the organ into bullets. The British officers beguiled their time by getting up balls and theatricals. Among the plays performed was one, written by General Burgoyne, caricaturing the American army and its officers.

On the first of January the Union Flag was unfurled, for the first time, over the camp at Cambridge. It was emblematic of the state of the country. The English cross retained in one corner, intimated a still existing relation with the mother country, while the thirteen stripes of red and white that represented the thirteen colonies, now united for self-government and resistance to 1776.

CHAP. XXIX. oppression, were broadly significant of the New Republic that was to grow out of this union.

1776. The year opened drearily for the patriots. There were less than ten thousand men in the camp, among whom were many undisciplined recruits, and many without arms. The people were impatient—why not capture or drive the enemy out of Boston? they asked on all sides. The situation of Washington was painful in the extreme: he could not publish his reasons, lest the enemy should learn his weakness. Under these circumstances he writes thus to a confidential friend: "We are now left with a good deal less than half-raised regiments and about five thousand militia. * * * If I shall be able to rise superior to these and many other difficulties, which might be enumerated, I shall most religiously believe that the finger of Providence is in it, to blind the eyes of our enemies."

About this time ships commanded by Sir Henry Clinton left the harbor of Boston on a secret expedition. It was justly surmised that he was bound for New York. We turn once more to the state of affairs in that province.

As has been said, much of the wealth and influence of New York was on the side of the Tories. Richmond and Queen's counties had refused to send delegates to the Provincial Congress. Governor Tryon, who had retired to a British man-of-war in the harbor, kept up a correspondence with the friends of the royal cause in the city. There was published the most influential Tory journal in the country, "Rivington's Gazette"—"a thorn in the side of the patriots." Many who were opposed to this journal were unwilling to adopt violent measures; the committee of safety refused to interfere with it. Colonel Isaac Sears, one of the boldest and most energetic of the New York Sons of Liberty, collected, in Connecticut, about a hundred horsemen, dashed into the city, broke the press and carried away the types to New Haven.

CHAP. XXIX.

1776.

The possession of New York, as it was "the key to the whole continent, a passage to Canada, to the great Lakes, and to all the Indian nations," was all-important to the patriots. It was determined to place troops there. Sears, seconded by the authority of Governor Trumbull, proceeded to form regiments in Connecticut. Washington ordered General Charles Lee to take command of these regiments and proceed with them to New York, put that city in a state of defence, call in aid from New Jersey to disarm the Tories on Long Island and elsewhere—duties which Lee proceeded forthwith to perform. Governor Tryon threatened to bombard the city if he entered it with the Connecticut troops. The people were greatly alarmed. The provincial Congress requested Lee not to advance for the present. He was determined to push on with a sufficient number of troops to secure the city, and threatened in his turn, "if they make a pretext of my presence to fire on the town, the first house set on flames by their guns shall be the funeral-pile of some of their best friends." He entered the city on Sunday, February fourth, and encamped on the spot where the City Hall now stands, then a suburb known as "The Fields."

Feb. 4.

The threats and counter-threats had wrought up the feelings of the people to a state of intense excitement. During the day this was greatly increased; cannon were heard from the Narrows. Sir Henry Clinton was entering the harbor. Many of the inhabitants hastened from the city; on the afternoon of that Sabbath day Kingsbridge was thronged with people and wagons on their way to the country. But these fears were soon relieved. Clinton gave notice that he came merely to a pay a visit to his "friend Tryon." He remained but a short time, then sailed away to North Carolina. His mysterious expedition and his "whimsical civility" to his "friend Tryon" gave rise to much speculation; though, as he had but few troops, his movements had, as yet, created but little

CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

alarm. Lee now proceeded to put the city in a state of defence.

Serious difficulties threatened the interior of the province. Guy Johnson had retired to Canada; Sir John Johnson had fortified his "Hall," and gathered about him his Highlanders and Mohawks. Schuyler proceeded to disarm and disband this dangerous company. Sir John gave his parole not to take up arms against America. A few months afterward he was suspected of breaking his word; to avoid arrest, he fled to Canada, where he received a colonel's commission, and organized the regiments called the "Royal Greens," afterward so renowned for deeds of cruelty.

Jan. 20.

During this winter Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, who, like Tryon, had taken refuge in one of the king's ships, had been engaged in intrigues against the colonists. He sent a vessel to Boston with supplies which, however, was captured. In a letter found on board he had invited General Howe to transfer the seat of war to the South; he also landed at Norfolk, carried off a printing press, published a proclamation that promised freedom to the slaves or indented white servants of the patriots who would join his cause. With a force thus collected he took possession of the town. Fugitive slaves and others began to flock to his banner. Virginia raised new regiments to dislodge him and oppose strong movements that were making in his favor. The second regiment, under Woodford, took possession of the narrow neck which connects Norfolk with the mainland, and compelled Dunmore to re-embark. Soon after he returned, bombarded the town, and landed a party who burned a portion of it to the ground. The patriots burned the remainder lest it should afford shelter to its enemies. Thus perished the principal shipping port of Virginia, her largest and richest town.

June. Dec. Jan., 1776.

The British were secretly planning an invasion of the South. Governor Martin, of North Carolina, who, like many of the royal governors of that day, carried on operations from on board a ship, was stirring up the Tories of that province, many of whom were Highlanders. He hoped to gather a land force to co-operate with Sir Peter Parker, who was on his way from Ireland with a fleet of ten ships, on board of which were seven regiments. The movements of Sir Henry Clinton could now be accounted for. He had left Boston to take command of the land forces in this intended invasion: he stopped to confer on the subject with Tryon, who had been governor of North Carolina. CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

Martin had commissioned two prominent Scotchmen, McDonald and McLeod—both recent emigrants, and officers of the British army. General McDonald enlisted some fifteen hundred men and marched for the coast, but the North Carolina patriots were on the alert. He was intercepted at Moore's Creek Bridge, sixteen miles from Wilmington. Colonel McLeod was killed; McDonald and eight hundred and fifty loyalists were taken prisoners. He and his officers were sent away to the north. Feb.

This defeat, which at the first glance may appear of little consequence, was important in its bearing; it interfered for a time with the plans of Clinton and Martin. This delay was most valuable to the patriots; they had time to collect forces and mature plans for defence. General Lee was appointed by Congress to take command of the southern army and to watch Clinton, who was hovering on the coast in expectation of the British squadron. After long delays it arrived at the mouth of Cape Fear River. Congress learned from intercepted letters that Charleston was to be attacked. There, at the first alarm, six thousand men from Virginia and the Carolinas had assembled. The indefatigable Lee reached the city just as Clinton appeared in the harbor. Had the enemy attacked that place at once they might have taken it with May.

CHAP. XXIX. 1776. June 4.

ease. It was, wrote Lee, "perfectly defenceless." The opportunity was not improved, and both parties began to fortify and prepare for a contest. Here we leave them for the present, and return to the camp before Boston.

During the month of January there was little improvement in the state of the army. On the tenth of February Washington writes: "Without men, without arms, without ammunition, little is to be done." The patriots had looked hopefully toward Canada, only to be disappointed. Montgomery had fallen; Morgan and his brave band were prisoners; the remnant of the shattered forces that lingered with Arnold in his icy fortress before the walls of Quebec, could accomplish nothing. The whole line of the Atlantic coast was threatened; and in view of these circumstances Washington was anxious to strike a decisive blow that should encourage the despondent and revive popular enthusiasm. In truth, the state of public feeling demanded such a course. Congress had

Dec., 1775.

authorized him to push the attack upon Boston to the destruction of the town, should it be necessary. John Hancock, who had large possessions there, said: "Do it, and may God crown your attempt with success." When the bay became frozen Washington was impatient to cross over on the ice; again and again he proposed an attack, but a council of war as often decided that the force was still too weak, the ammunition too scant. Meanwhile, Putnam was actively engaged in constructing works on the neighboring heights. Many of the labors conducted by the brave old general had to be attended to in the night-time to avoid the fire from the enemy's ships. Toward spring affairs began to wear a brighter aspect. Ten new regiments of militia were enlisted; the great want that paralyzed every effort—powder—was supplied from various quarters; some was obtained from New York, some from Bermuda; the Connecticut mills were also in operation.

Now, to the great joy of the camp, Knox returned with his long train of sledges laden with ammunition, and cannon of various kinds. With the joy was mingled admiration for the energy displayed. He had travelled more than four hundred miles over frozen streams and through a wilderness obstructed by the snows of winter. The dull monotony of inaction gave way to bustle and excitement. All was now ready for active operations. The heights that commanded the town must be seized and fortified. Putnam had already fortified Lechmere Point, on the north; there he had mounted his famous "Congress:" that point had only to be supplied with more large cannon and with powder. Now the main object was to secure Dorchester Heights, which commanded the town on the south, and also the harbor. This would compel the enemy to leave the town or bring on a general engagement: plans were laid accordingly. CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

To divert the attention of the enemy while preparations were in progress, Boston was to be bombarded and cannonaded from different points. Should the Americans attain the heights, and the enemy attempt to dislodge them, Putnam, with four thousand picked men, was prepared to cross Charles river and attack the north part of the town.

Washington, deeply impressed with the importance of the coming struggle, issued orders forbidding "all playing at cards or other games of chance," adding, "In this time of public distress, men may find enough to do in the service of God and their country, without abandoning themselves to vice and immorality." He also warned the troops, "If any man in action shall presume to skulk, hide himself, or retreat from the enemy without orders, he will be instantly shot down as an example of cowardice."

The fourth of March was fixed upon for the enterprise. On the evening of that day, the detachment under General Thomas, designed to occupy the heights, moved as Mar. 4.

CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

quietly as possible. In the advance were eight hundred men; then came the carts with the intrenching tools; then twelve hundred more men, and in the rear were three hundred wagons laden with bales of hay and bundles of fagots to be used in making the breastwork. They reached the heights about eight o'clock; amid the roar of artillery —for the enemy were returning the fire directed against them with great spirit—the noise of the wagons and the necessary bustle of the movement had been unheard. Though the earth was frozen eighteen inches deep, they threw up an embankment and used their hay and other material to great advantage. During that night of labor, the commander-in-chief was drawn by his interest to the spot. In the morning the fortification appeared very formidable. General Howe, as he examined it through the mist, exclaimed: "The rebels have done more work in one night than my whole army would have done in a month." The patriots, at this crisis, watched the movements of the enemy with intense interest. A cannonade was opened upon the heights, but without much effect. Howe did not attempt to storm the works. A night attack was resolved upon, but a furious storm arose, the ships of war could render no service, nor could the boats land in the heavy surf. Before the storm was over the Americans were too strong to be assaulted. A council of war advised Howe to evacuate the town, as both it and the shipping were exposed to a destructive bombardment. To insure the safety of his army during the embarkation, Howe appealed to the fears of the inhabitants; he intimated he would burn the town if his troops were fired upon. A deputation of citizens made this known, in an informal manner to Washington, and the British were suffered to depart unmolested.

Eleven days were employed in the embarkation. About fifteen hundred loyalists made ready to leave with the departing army; thus was the good city of Boston purged

of its Tory population. Authorized by Howe, the British demanded of the inhabitants all the linen and woollen goods; salt, molasses, and other necessaries were destroyed. Crean Brush, a New York Tory, who was commissioned to take charge of the goods that were seized, took advantage of his authority and broke open and pillaged stores and private houses, as did some of the soldiers. The embarkation was hastened, at the last, by a false alarm that the Americans were about to assault the town.

Mar. 18.

On the next Monday, March eighteenth, Washington entered the city. He was received with joy by the remaining inhabitants. After a siege of ten months Boston was again free; above it waved the Union flag of thirteen stripes. The British fleet, consisting of one hundred and fifty vessels, lay for some days in Nantasket roads, and then bore away. Washington feared its destination was New York. As soon as possible he hastened thither with the main body of the army. Five regiments remained at Boston with General Ward. Soon afterward he resigned, but served the cause in the Massachusetts council and in Congress.

The land rejoiced greatly at this success. On motion of John Adams, Congress gave Washington a unanimous vote of thanks, and ordered a gold medal to be struck in commemoration of the event.

Feb. 17.

The expenses of the war were so great that just before this Congress had been obliged to issue four additional millions of continental paper. A financial committee had been appointed, and now an auditor-general and assistants were to act under this committee; this assumed the form of a Treasury Department. Two months later Congress established a War Office, and appointed a committee of five members to superintend its operations. To act as chairman of this committee, John Adams resigned the office of chief justice of Massachusetts.

April.

CHAP. XXIX. 1776. Washington reached New York on the thirteenth of April; there he found much to be done. The Heights of Long Island, Kingsbridge, the main avenue from the city by land, were at best but imperfectly guarded, and many prominent points on the river and Sound were entirely undefended.

Governor Tryon and the British ships in the harbor were in constant communication with the Tories in the city. To guard against these dangers, external and internal, Washington had but eight thousand effective men. General Greene was sent with one division to fortify what is now Brooklyn Heights, on Long Island, as they commanded New York. He was also to make himself familiar with the surrounding country. Urged by the commander-in-chief, the committee of safety were induced to prohibit all intercourse with Governor Tryon. Any such intercourse, if discovered, was to be severely punished. But Tryon, aided by spies and agents, continued his efforts in the king's cause. A conspiracy, to which he had instigated the Tories, was fortunately discovered. Some of these may have been true loyalists, but there were others basely won by the promise of reward. In low taverns and drinking-saloons the patriot soldiers were tampered with. The mayor of the city was arrested, as well as some of Washington's body-guard, charged with being concerned in the plot. One of the guard, Thomas Hickey, a deserter from the British army, was hanged, "for mutiny, sedition, and treachery." This example alarmed the Tories, and we hear of no more plots.

June 28.

May 17. For the first time Washington learned of the measures of the British Parliament. The hired Hessian and German troops were landing in Canada. New apprehensions were awakened for the army in that province. Great efforts were made to reinforce it; regiments were sent under Sullivan and Thompson. Early in the spring Gen-

eral Wooster had joined Arnold and taken the command at Quebec. But it was not easy for Arnold to act in concert with a superior officer; as usual, he had difficulty with Wooster and retired to Montreal. Soon after Wooster was recalled, and Thomas, now a major-general, was appointed to the northern army. General Carleton was strongly reinforced, and Thomas was compelled to make a hasty retreat from before Quebec—so hasty that the baggage, the artillery, and even the sick were left behind. The noble humanity of Carleton deserves to be recorded. He sought out the sick, many of whom had hid from him in terror, conveyed them to the general hospitals, and promised that on their recovery they should be permitted to return home. Thomas hastened to the Sorel where, on the second of June, he died of the small-pox, which prevailed greatly in the army. Though the army once more changed its commander, there was no change in its prospects; they continued to be of the gloomiest character. Carleton came pressing on with a force of thirteen thousand men. General Thompson, with a portion of the American troops, was defeated at Three Rivers; and he, with his officers and many of his men, were taken prisoners. Those who escaped joined Sullivan on the Sorel.

CHAP. XXIX. 1776. June.

Arnold had been equally unfortunate at Montreal. He stationed a detachment of four hundred men at a point called The Cedars, about forty miles above that place, in order to intercept the stores sent to the enemy. As this post was threatened with an attack, it was shamefully surrendered by Colonel Butterworth without a blow. A reinforcement sent to their aid was also taken prisoners. Arnold now joined Sullivan. A council of war decided upon a retreat, and the wreck of the army passed out of Canada, followed by a strong British force.

The army was in a deplorable condition when it reached Crown Point. To use the words of John Adams, it was "defeated, discontented, dispirited, diseased, no clothes,

CHAP. XXIX. 1776. beds, blankets, nor medicines; no victuals but salt pork and flour." Thus ended this invasion, famous for its daring exploits and numerous disasters.

Congress approved of Sullivan's prudent retreat; they did not, however, confirm him in the authority that had devolved upon him on the death of General Thomas. They appointed Major-general Gates to the command, and awarded Sullivan a vote of thanks—an honor as unsatisfactory to him as it was empty in itself. Sullivan was deeply wounded, as was General Schuyler, for Gates claimed the command, not only of the forces on Lake Champlain, but of the whole northern army.

Horatio Gates, like Lee, was of foreign birth; like him, he was a disappointed man. Of his very early life little is known. He served in America under Braddock, in the West Indies under Monckton; but as he did not receive from his native England the honors which he thought his due, he sold his commission in the British army and retired to Virginia, where he renewed his acquaintance with Washington, and with his former associate, General Lee. Gates was ambitious, and the revolution opened a path to distinction. As an office-seeker he had, it is said, learned to "flatter and accommodate himself to the humors of others." He could be "the boon companion of gentlemen, and 'hail fellow well met' with the vulgar." He ingratiated himself with the New Englanders, with whom, for some reason, Schuyler was unpopular. Through their influence, it is thought, Gates obtained what he aimed at—promotion. The enemies of Schuyler advanced serious charges against him; attributed to him the failure of the Canada expedition, and even hinted at treason. There is an instinct common to noble minds by which they discern truth in others. Washington never doubted the integrity of Schuyler, nor did Congress sustain Gates in his claim to supersede him. The ap-

pointment of the latter, they said, referred only to the forces while in Canada; elsewhere he was subordinate to Schuyler. The difficulty was passed over, as the result of a mistake, and the rival commanders assumed the appearance of satisfaction. CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

We now return to Charleston, where we left both parties preparing for a contest. On the fate of Sullivan's Island, the key to the harbor, the result seemed to depend. One party was making ready to attack, the other to defend it. On the south-west point of this island was a fort commanded by Colonel William Moultrie. Fort Moultrie was constructed of logs of palmetto, a wood soft and spongy; cannon-balls could not splinter it. Lee, not familiar with the palmetto, thought it madness to attempt to defend so fragile a fort; he contemptuously styled it the "Slaughter-pen." This important post was threatened by sea and land. Before it lay the British fleet under Sir Peter Parker. Sir Henry Clinton, with two thousand men, had taken possession of Long Island, which lay to the east of Sullivan's Island, and was separated from it only by a narrow creek. Here he was erecting batteries to cover his passage across the creek, to assault the fort when the fire of the ships should make a breach. To oppose him the Americans stationed a force under Colonel Thompson on the opposite side of the creek. Lee took his position on a point of the mainland north of the island, where he stood ready at any moment to aid either Thompson or Moultrie.

The strength of the fort was now to be tested. On the twenty-eighth of June the formidable fleet of Parker advanced and commenced a "most furious fire," which was returned with great spirit. The firing had but little effect upon the low wooden fort, while the ships of the enemy were almost torn in pieces. In the midst of the terrific roar of artillery the Americans stood bravely to June 28.

CHAP. XXIX. 1776.

their guns; some of them remained at their posts even after they had lost a limb. For ten hours the battle raged without intermission. Then Sir Peter drew off his ships. Among the slain was Lord Campbell, ex-governor of the province, who fought as a volunteer on board the admiral's ship.

Sir Henry Clinton made repeated attempts to reach Sullivan's Island, but was as often foiled by the batteries of Thompson. Several of the ships ran aground; one, the Acteon, was set on fire with her guns loaded and colors flying, and then abandoned. The Americans, determined to secure a trophy, boarded the burning vessel, fired her guns at the retreating enemy, took possession of her colors, loaded three boats with stores, and departed in safety, before she blew up. Among the many heroic incidents connected with this battle, one is related of Sergeant Jasper. The flag-staff was cut by a ball, and the flag fell outside the fort. Jasper immediately leaped down and, amid the "iron hail," picked up the flag, tied it to a pole, deliberately placed it on the parapet, and then returned to his companions at the guns. Governor Rutledge appreciated the heroic deed; a few days after he presented his own sword to Jasper and offered him a lieutenant's commission. He accepted the sword, but modestly declined promotion on the ground that he could neither read nor write.

June 28. On the very day that this battle took place at the South, a British fleet of forty vessels entered the harbor of New York. On board was General Howe, and with him the late garrison of Boston. Since the evacuation of that place he had been at Halifax awaiting the arrival of his brother, Admiral Howe. He landed his forces on Staten Island, where he was received with demonstrations of joy by the Tories. Clouds of deeper darkness were gathering around New York. The Admiral with more forces might be expected at any moment; the crisis so long dreaded was at hand. The American soldiers were

ordered to be each day at their alarm posts, and to be in readiness for instant action. Orders to the same effect were sent up the river. Rumors of disaffection in that quarter added the fear of treachery to the general alarm. Such was the state of things—the northern army defeated and broken, the fleet of Sir Henry Clinton on its way from the South, Admiral Howe on his way from England, the harbor of New York filled with the enemy's ships,—when an event took place, most important in American history. The colonies declared themselves independent of all foreign authority, and took their place among the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XXX.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Question of Independence; Influences in favor of.—The Tories.—"Common Sense."—The Declaration; its Reception by the People and Army.—Arrival of Admiral Howe.—His Overtures for Reconciliation.—The American Army; its Composition.—Sectional Jealousies.—The Forts on the Hudson.—The Clintons.—Battle of Long Island.—The Masterly Retreat.—Incidents.—Camp on Harlem Heights.—Howe confers with a Committee of Congress.—Nathan Hale.—The British at Kipp's Bay.—New York evacuated.—Conflict at White Plains.—The Retreat across New Jersey.—Waywardness of Lee.

CHAP. XXX. 1776.

THE alienation between the colonies and the mother country began at the close of the French war. It was not the result of any one cause, but of many; the change of feeling was not instantaneous, but gradual. As the struggle took a more decided form, many, who were determined in their resistance to oppression, were unwilling to cast off their allegiance to the land to which their fathers still gave the endearing name of "home." There were, however, among the true Sons of Liberty a few who had seen the end from the beginning. Such men as Samuel Adams and Patrick Henry foresaw the haughty obstinacy of the British ministry, and foretold the result. "Independent we are and independent we will be," said Adams; and Henry exclaimed, in the Virginia Assembly: "We must fight. An appeal to arms and the God of Hosts is all that is left us!"

What had long been felt by the few now flashed upon

the minds of the many, that they could never enjoy their rights but as a self-governing nation. Would the oppressions of the home government justify separation, which would involve all the horrors of a protracted and doubtful war? This question became the subject of discussion in the Provincial Assemblies and among the people themselves. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

It was not arbitrary and unjust laws alone, nor the refusal of political rights, that had estranged the American people. Religious views had their influence in moulding public sentiment in favor of independence. Long-continued and persistent efforts to establish the Episcopal church in New England, had roused the latent hostility of the Congregationalists—they would not submit to English control in matters of religion. The Presbyterians of the middle and southern colonies, derived, as they were, from the dissenting Scottish church, had a traditionary feeling of opposition to the same influence. Both pastors and people were stanch Whigs and went hand in hand with the ministers and people of New England. Even in Virginia, where the Episcopal church was established by law, and where the majority of the people were its advocates, the attempt to place over them a bishop was denounced by the House of Burgesses as a "pernicious project." Though strenuous churchmen, they were jealous of external influences, and repudiated the control of the mother church. On the contrary, the Episcopal clergy, great numbers of whom were Englishmen by birth, from their associations were inclined to favor the royal authority. Nor should we judge them harshly; they acted in accordance with their views of the intimate connection of church and state. These views influenced the members of that church more in the northern than in the southern colonies, and great numbers of them faithfully adhered to the "Lord's anointed," as they termed the king.

The peace-loving Quakers, numerous in Pennsylvania,

CHAP. XXX. 1776. New Jersey, and Delaware opposed war as wrong in itself. The Moravians held similar views. These grieved over the violation of their rights, yet they hoped by pacific measures to obtain justice.

There were others who, though not opposed to war, believed it to be wrong to rise in opposition to the rule of the mother country. There were also the timid, who deemed it madness to resist a power so colossal. There were the low and grovelling, who sought only an opportunity to plunder; the time-serving and the avaricious, who, for the gain they might acquire as contractors for the British army, or by furnishing provisions for prisoners, joined the enemies of their country.

The evacuation of Boston strengthened the already strong feeling in favor of independence so prevalent in New England. In the south the recent risings of the Tories in North Carolina, the ravages of Dunmore in Virginia, and the attack upon Charleston, served still more to alienate the affections of the people; while their success in repelling the invasion gave them assurance. For many reasons they wished to be independent. Then they could form treaties with other nations, and the brand of rebel, so repugnant to an honorable mind, would be removed. In truth, Congress had already taken the ground of an independent government by offering free trade to other nations, in all merchandise except that of British manufacture and slaves—the latter traffic they had prohibited some months before.

About the first of the year a pamphlet was issued in Philadelphia under the title of "Common Sense," which had a great influence upon the public mind. Its author, Thomas Paine, an Englishman, had been in the country but a few months. In a style adapted to convince the popular mind he exposed the folly of delaying any longer a formal separation from the mother country. The pamphlet had a very great circulation, and a proportionate

influence in deciding the timid and wavering in favor of independence.

On the seventh of June Richard Henry Lee introduced a resolution into Congress, declaring, "That the United Colonies are and ought to be free and independent States, and that their political connection with Great Britain is and ought to be dissolved." Upon this resolution sprang up an animated discussion. It was opposed, principally, on the ground that it was premature. Some of the best and strongest advocates of colonial rights spoke and voted against the motion, which passed only by a bare majority of seven States to six. Some of the delegates had not received instructions from their constituents on the subject, and others were instructed to vote against it. Its consideration was prudently deferred until there was a prospect of greater unanimity. Accordingly, on the eleventh a committee, consisting of Doctor Franklin, John Adams, Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia, Roger Sherman, of Connecticut, and Robert R. Livingston, of New York, was appointed to prepare a Declaration. To give opportunity for union of opinion, the consideration of the subject was postponed to the first of July. At the same time two other committees were appointed; one to draw up a plan for uniting all the colonies, the other to devise measures to form foreign alliances.

June.

On the twenty-eighth the committee reported the declaration to the house. It was drawn by Jefferson, and contained a gracefully written summary of the sentiments of the people and Congress. After a few verbal alterations suggested by Adams and Franklin, it was approved by the committee. The house, however, struck out a few passages. One of these reflected severely upon the British government; another denounced the slave-trade; another censured the king for his attempts to prevent, by the refusal of his signature, the enactment of laws designed to

CHAP. XXX. 1776. prohibit that traffic. They were unwilling to offend the friends of the colonies in Britain, and feared lest these strong expressions might prevent the declaration from receiving a unanimous vote. The vote was taken by States; the delegates were not unanimous, but there were a sufficient number to give the vote of all the colonies, New York alone excepted, which was given in a few days. The announcement was delayed till the declaration should receive a few amendments, and then, on *July the fourth*, July 4. it was formally adopted, and the thirteen colonies became THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

The bell of the State House, in which Congress held its sessions, has upon it the inscription: "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"—words taken from the Bible. Congress sat with closed doors, but it was known far and wide that the subject of independence was under discussion. Crowds assembled outside the Hall, and waited anxiously to learn the result. At mid-day the appointed signal was given. The bell was struck, and to its tones responded the joyous shouts of multitudes. The friends of liberty and independence breathed more freely; the declaration was made; the hesitancy of indecision was over, and the spirit of determination arose. It was published; it was read to the army; the soldiers received it with shouts of exultation and pledges to defend its principles; it was announced in the papers; from the pulpits, and everywhere the Whigs hailed it with joy. Hopes of reconciliation, which had so much paralyzed measures of defence were at an end; there was now no neutral ground. The timid though honest friends of their country, who had so long hesitated, generally sided with liberty. The Tories were in a sad condition; the great majority of them were wealthy, and had hoped that the difficulties would yet be arranged. Laws passed by the new State authorities had rendered them liable to fines and imprisonments, and their

property to confiscation. They endured many outrages, and were subjected to "tarrings and featherings" innumerable by self-constituted vigilance committees. Congress, to prevent these outrages, gave the supervision of Tories to committees of inspection. The most obnoxious were fain to emigrate, and the committee admonished or restrained the others within certain limits. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

The soldiers in New York manifested their zeal by taking a leaden statue of King George, which stood in the Bowling Green, and running it into bullets, to be used in the cause of independence. To impress upon their minds a sense of the dignity of their position, as well as to reprove this irregularity, Washington, in the orders, the following day, referred to the subject. "The general hopes and trusts," said he, "that every officer and soldier will endeavor so to live and act as becomes a Christian soldier defending the dearest rights and liberties of his country."

A few days after the public Declaration of Independence, the booming of cannon from the British vessels in the harbor of New York announced the arrival of Admiral Howe. To his brother and himself had been committed the general control of American affairs.

Before he proceeded to hostilities, the admiral addressed a circular to the people; he offered them pardon if they would cease to be rebels, lay down their arms, and trust the king's mercy. As soon as this circular reached Congress that body caused it to be published in all the newspapers that the people might see that Britain would grant nothing and accept no concession short of absolute submission. "They must fight or be slaves."

Howe also attempted to open a correspondence with Washington. As Parliament refused to acknowledge titles conferred by Congress, his letters were addressed first to Mr. George Washington, then to George Washington, *Esquire, &c., &c.*, hoping that the &c.'s would re-

CHAP. XXX. 1776. move the difficulty; but the Commander-in-chief, justly tenacious of the dignity of his office, and of the honor of his country, politely but firmly refused to receive them. The messenger expressed his regret that the correspondence could not be opened. His lordship, he said, wished for peace; he was vested with great powers. Washington replied that he understood Lord Howe had power to grant pardons; the Americans had defended their rights; they had committed no crime and needed no pardon.

The Admiral was disappointed; he really desired peace. The reception he had met with had encouraged his hopes; he had received loyal addresses from the Tories of New Jersey, Long and Staten Islands; Governor Tryon had assured him there were many others, secret friends of England, who might be induced to join him. But, to his surprise, his circular, from which he had hoped much, produced little or no effect. He was now convinced that nothing could be accomplished except by force of arms. Meanwhile his army, now on Staten Island, received many accessions; Sir Henry Clinton had arrived, and more Hessian troops had landed. His whole force was about thirty-five thousand.

As it had become more and more evident that New York was to be the theatre of the war, further preparations had been made to defend the city and neighborhood. Pennsylvania had sent four continental regiments, commanded respectively by Colonels St. Clair, Shee, Anthony Wayne, and Magaw; three provincial battalions, under Colonels Miles, Cadwallader, and Atlee, and rifle regiments under Colonels Hand and Allen. These were all commanded by Brigadier-general Mifflin, of that State.

Virginia sent troops under Major Leitch, and from Maryland came the brave company known as Smallwood's regiment, who afterward distinguished themselves in many conflicts, while from Delaware came a regiment under Colonel Hazlet. In addition to these, Pennsylvania,

Maryland, and Delaware furnished troops to form what was called "a flying camp," a sort of reserve, stationed in New Jersey, in a favorable position, and ready to act in emergencies. This was under Brigadier-general Mercer.

In the troops thus drawn together from different parts of the country there were marked differences in appearance and discipline. The New England officers were most of them farmers and mechanics—brave, honorable, but plain men. Their soldiers were men of the same stamp; in many cases their intimates and associates in private life. Their intercourse with each other was less formal than was consistent with strict military discipline. They met not as mere soldiers, but as a band of brethren, united in a cause in which each had a personal interest. With the portion of the army drawn from the other States, the case was different; with them there was a marked distinction between the officers and soldiers. The officers were brave and honorable also, but city bred—"gentlemen," as they called themselves—and from wealthy families, while the "common soldiers, for the most part, were a very inferior set." Sectional jealousies arose. The Marylanders, in "scarlet and buff," looked down upon the rustic soldiery in "homespun," while the officers of the other provinces were inclined to despise their associates from New England. These jealousies became so great an evil that Washington strongly reprobated them in general orders.

As the British were masters of the bay of New York, it was feared they would surround the American army in the city and take possession of the Hudson, that great highway to the interior. To prevent this, General Mifflin was sent with the Pennsylvania troops to guard the forts at the north end of the island. One of these stood just below, the other just above Kingsbridge, the only avenue to the mainland; they were known as Forts Washington and Independence. On the west side of the Hudson,

CHAP. XXX. 1776. nearly opposite Fort Washington, stood Fort Lee. Near the entrance to the Highlands, and just opposite the well-known promontory of Anthony's Nose, was Fort Montgomery. Six miles higher up the river was Fort Constitution.

The posts last named were under the command of Colonel James Clinton. His brother George commanded the militia of Ulster and Orange counties. These brothers were of Irish descent, natives of New York, and their ancestors were identified with the early settlements on the Hudson. They had been soldiers from their youth—like many of the Revolutionary officers—they had been trained in the French war, in which one of them had served as a captain at twenty, and the other as a lieutenant at seventeen years of age. The elder, James, had also served under Montgomery at the capture of Montreal, while George had been active in the service of his country as a member of the New York Legislature, and as a delegate to the Continental Congress.

In spite of obstructions thrown across the channel, two British vessels, the Phœnix and the Rose, passed up the Hudson. The latter was commanded by the notorious Captain Wallace, who had pillaged the shores of Rhode Island. They passed the forts unharmed, and gallantly returned the fire from Fort Washington. As they boldly pushed their way up the river, their appearance created great alarm. Signal guns were heard from the forts, and false rumors increased the general excitement. The sturdy yeomanry left their harvests uncut in their fields and hastened to join the forces under Clinton to defend the passes of the Highlands. These fears were in a great measure groundless. The vessels quietly anchored here and there, while their boats took soundings; but the event proved the inefficiency of the defences at the mouth of the Hudson.

July 12.

The Americans, from the Jersey shore and the city

continued to watch, with intense interest, the movements of the enemy on Staten Island. A spy reported that they were about to land on Long Island, with twenty thousand men, and take possession of the Heights, which commanded New York; he had heard the orders read, and the conversation of the officers in the camp. The next day the roar of artillery was heard from Long Island, and soon the news reached the city that the enemy had landed at Gravesend Bay. CHAP. XXX. 1776. Aug. 22.

General Greene had thrown up a line of intrenchments and redoubts across the neck of the peninsula upon which stood the village of Brooklyn. He had made himself acquainted with the ground in the neighborhood, and nearly completed his plans for defence, when he was suddenly taken ill with a raging fever. He was still unable to be at his post, and Sullivan held the temporary command.

Between the American intrenchments and Gravesend Bay lay a range of thickly-wooded hills that stretched across the island from south-west to north-east. Over and around these hills were three roads: one along the shore passed around their south-western base; another crossed over their centre toward Flatbush; while a third, which was near the north-east extremity of the range, passed over them from the village of Bedford to Jamaica.

Nine thousand of the British had already landed at Gravesend, under the command of Sir Henry Clinton and his associates, the Earls of Cornwallis and Percy, and Generals Grant and Erskine. Colonel Hand, who was stationed there, retired on their approach to a position that commanded the central or Flatbush road. The British continued to land more forces secretly in the night time, but for several days nothing occurred, except skirmishing between the enemy and the troops at the outposts, along the wooded hills.

At the first alarm the Commander-in-chief had hastened to send to the aid of Sullivan a reinforcement of six

CHAP. XXX. 1776. battalions,—all he could well spare. He exhorted these soldiers to be cool, and not to fire too soon. They appeared in high spirits, though most of them were going into battle for the first time.

Aug. 24. On the twenty-fourth, Washington, somewhat relieved from his apprehensions with regard to the city, crossed over to Brooklyn to inspect the lines. He was pained to observe a great want of system among the officers, and of discipline among the soldiers. A strong redoubt had been thrown up at the central pass, but the plans for defence were imperfect and affairs in much confusion.

On his return he appointed General Putnam to the command, with orders to remedy these evils. The "brave old man" hastened with joy to the post of danger.

From day to day the number of tents on Staten Island became gradually less, and one by one ships dropped silently down to the narrows. Washington became convinced that the British designed to attack the lines at Brooklyn. He sent over further reinforcements, among which was Haslet's Delaware regiment—troops whose soldierly bearing and discipline had won his special regard.

He proceeded in person to aid Putnam with his counsel. On the evening of the twenty-sixth he returned to New York, perplexed and depressed, for a dark cloud of uncertainty and danger hung over the future.

His fears were soon realized. On that very evening the British proceeded to carry out their plan of attack. By this plan, Sir Henry Clinton was to march along by-paths across to the eastern or Jamaica road, to seize the pass in the Bedford hills, thence proceed onward, and turn the left flank of the Americans; General Grant was to pass along the shore-road and attack them on the right, while General De Heister, with his Hessians, was to threaten the central pass, where Colonel Hand was stationed with his riflemen.

At nine o'clock Sir Henry, guided by a Long Island

Tory, commenced his march toward the eastern road; about midnight, Colonel Grant's division moved in an opposite direction, along the western or shore-road. Colonel Atlee, who was stationed there with a small company of militia, was driven back from point to point. News of Grant's approach soon reached General Putnam. Lord Stirling, with Smallwood's and Haslet's regiments, was sent to the relief of Colonel Atlee. About daylight they came up with him, and soon the front of the approaching enemy appeared in view. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

Presently the redoubt at the central pass was cannonaded from Flatbush. This firing attracted the attention of Sullivan, who went to the relief of Colonel Hand.

Thus the object of the British was in part accomplished. The attention of the Americans was diverted, their troops were scattered beyond the lines; silently and rapidly the forces of Clinton were moving on to cut off their return. He had found the eastern pass unguarded, and continued his march undiscovered, and now signal-guns announced that he was close upon the American lines. The Hessians advanced at once upon the redoubt. Colonel Grant pushed on. Sullivan and Stirling both perceived their danger and endeavored to retreat, but in vain. The enemy had gained their rear; they were completely entrapped and hemmed in. It is true, a portion of Stirling's troops escaped by fording a creek; the remainder, most of whom were of Smallwood's regiment, took a brave but desperate stand. A scene of carnage ensued; more than two hundred and fifty of them were slain within sight of the lines. Some of these were most cruelly and wantonly bayoneted by the merciless Hessians. At length Stirling sought De Heister and surrendered. Sullivan's forces were driven back and forth by the two divisions of the enemy, and treated in a like barbarous manner; some were taken prisoners, among whom was Sullivan himself; others fought their way Aug. 27.

CHAP. XXX. 1776.

back to the lines. Some portion of this conflict took place amid the hills now embraced in the beautiful cemetery of Greenwood.

Washington reached the spot just in time to witness the catastrophe. As from the lines he saw his brave troops surrounded and cruelly slaughtered—touched to the heart with deep and humane sorrow, he wrung his hands and exclaimed: "Good God! what brave fellows I must lose this day!"

The loss of the Americans in this battle was very severe; of the five thousand engaged, nearly two thousand were slain or taken prisoners, while out of sixteen thousand the British lost but about four hundred. They made no assault on the American lines, but encamped directly in front of them, and prepared to carry them by regular approaches.

Although reinforced the next day by Mifflin's and Glover's regiments, the Americans had still a very inferior force. On the morning of the twenty-ninth, as General Mifflin, with Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Grayson, was inspecting the outposts at Red Hook, a light breeze, that dispersed the fog for a moment, revealed to them the enemy's fleet. They were justly alarmed; the unusual stir among the boats convinced them that some great movement was on foot. It was probable the enemy intended to pass up the bay and surround them. They hastened to Washington, who summoned a council of war, and it was decided that the army should that night be secretly withdrawn from the island. It was a hazardous enterprise, and much was to be done; boats were to be collected and preparations for the removal of nine thousand men were to be made, in the face of the enemy, rapidly, and yet so silently and cautiously, as not to awaken the slightest suspicion. It was already noon, but the orders were issued, and all the boats around Manhattan Island were impressed and in readiness at eight o'clock

that evening. And at the silent midnight hour the regiments, one by one, began to march to the ferry, and in boats manned by Glover's regiment, most of whom were Marblehead fishermen, they were borne to the city. By eight o'clock the entire army, with their military stores, cattle, horses, and carts, were safely landed. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

Several incidents occurred, which have a peculiar interest as connected with this famous retreat. General Mifflin, who was stationed nearest to the enemy's lines, was to remain at his post until the others had embarked. Colonel Scammell, who was sent to hasten forward a particular regiment, mistook his orders and sent on Mifflin with his whole covering party; and great was the consternation of the Commander-in-chief when they joined the others at the ferry. "This is a dreadful mistake, General Mifflin," said he, "and unless the troops can regain the lines before their absence is discovered by the enemy, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended." They returned to their post with all expedition. "This was a trying business to young soldiers," says one of their number, "it was, nevertheless, strictly complied with, and we remained not less than an hour in the lines before we received the second order to abandon them."[1]

A story is told of a woman, wife of a suspected Tory, who lived near the ferry. She sent her negro servant to the British with news that the Americans were retreating. He reached the Hessian outposts in safety, but they did not understand his language, and detained him a close prisoner till morning. Then an English officer, who examined him, learned the truth, but it was too late. The British did not reach the ferry till the last boat was beyond musket shot. It was an August morning; but for a dense fog the boats which left after daylight must have been discovered. The safe retreat of the patriot army Aug. 30.

[1] Graydon's Memoirs.

CHAP. XXX. 1776.

was by many attributed to a peculiar Providence. It was a trust in this Providence, a calm assurance of ultimate success under its guiding care, that strengthened the hearts of the patriots in their darkest hour of trial.

A few days after this retreat, Admiral Howe, who hoped the Americans would now accept peace on *his terms*, sent General Sullivan on parole with a letter to Congress. He invited them to send, in an informal manner, a committee to confer with him on some measures of reconciliation. He would receive them as private gentlemen, as the ministry would not acknowledge the legal existence of Congress. Accordingly John Adams, Doctor Franklin, and Edward Rutledge, held a conference with him at a house on Staten Island, opposite Amboy.

Doctor Franklin and Lord Howe had often conversed together in England on the present difficulties. His lordship made known the terms on which peace could be obtained. These terms were unconditional submission. When told that the Congress and people would treat on no other basis than that "of a free and independent nation," he expressed regret that he should be compelled to distress the Americans. Doctor Franklin reciprocated his good will, but quietly remarked, "The Americans will endeavor to lessen the pain you may feel, by taking good care of themselves." Thus ended the much talked-of interview. The result was good. The people were strengthened in the belief that England had no terms to offer, which would lead them to regret the course they had adopted.

The British, now in possession of Long Island, extended their lines along the East River, and stationed in them a large number of Hessian troops, of whom reinforcements had come within a few days. The defeat at Brooklyn had a very disheartening effect on the minds of the militia, great numbers of whom deserted, and soon

Washington's army was less than twenty thousand men, and on many of these little dependence could be placed. The question soon arose, Should New York be defended to the last, or should it be evacuated? Some proposed to burn it to the ground, as "two-thirds of the property belonged to Tories," rather than it should furnish comfortable winter-quarters for the enemy. Congress decided that the city should not be burned. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

The sick and wounded, in the meanwhile, were transferred to Orange, in New Jersey, and most of the military stores were removed to Dobbs' Ferry, that the garrison might be unenumbered should they be obliged to make a hasty retreat. It was decided by a council of war that Putnam, with five thousand troops, should remain to garrison New York, while General Heath, with the main body, was to fortify the heights in the neighborhood of Kingsbridge, where, presently, Washington transferred his headquarters.

Washington was anxious to learn the designs of the enemy on Long Island. At the suggestion of Colonel Knowlton, Nathan Hale volunteered to go on the perilous errand. Hale was a native of Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College, had thoughts of studying for the ministry, and at the commencement of the war was a teacher of youth. After the battle of Lexington he hastened to Boston to join the army, in which he served as a lieutenant. On one occasion, to induce his men to continue their term of enlistment, he offered them his own pay. Soon after he received from Congress the commission of captain.

He passed to the island, obtained the knowledge desired, notes of which he took in Latin. As he was returning he fell in with a party of the enemy, was recognized by a Tory relative, seized and taken to Howe's headquarters, and, without much ceremony, was ordered to be executed the next morning.

The provost-marshal, named Cunningham, treated

CHAP. XXX. 1776. him with great brutality, denied him a Bible, tore up the letter he had written to his mother, giving as a reason, "that the rebels should never know they had a man who could die with such firmness." The last words of Hale were: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

The entire British fleet was within cannon-shot of the city, and some of their vessels had passed up the Hudson and East rivers. They had landed troops on the islands at the mouth of Harlem river, and there erected a battery. Soon British and Hessians, under Clinton and Colonel Donop, crossed over from the camp on Long Island to Kipp's Bay, three miles above the city. Washington heard the cannonading in that quarter, and, as he was on the way to learn the cause, met the militia, who, on the first approach of the enemy had fled in sad confusion, followed by two brigades of Connecticut troops, who that very morning had been sent to support them. He strove to rally them, but in vain; neither entreaties nor commands had any effect upon these panic-stricken soldiers. Mortified and indignant at their cowardice, he dashed his hat upon the ground, and exclaimed: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America?" The enemy in pursuit were now not more than eighty yards from him, but in his excitement he forgot his own safety, and had not an attendant seized the bridle of his horse and hurried him from the field, he must have fallen into their hands.

Sept. 15.

Washington ordered General Heath to secure Harlem Heights, and sent an express order to Putnam to evacuate the city and retire to those heights with all speed; for he feared that the enemy would extend their lines across the island from Kipp's Bay, and cut off his retreat. Fortunately the British did not pursue their advantage. Putnam retreated along the west side of the island by the Bloomingdale road. His line, encumbered with women and children, was exposed to the fire of the ships lying

in the Hudson. He ordered, encouraged and aided, and by his extraordinary exertions, it is said, saved his corps from entire destruction. However, his heavy artillery and three hundred men fell into the hands of the enemy. CHAP. XXX. 1776.

Now the British had possession of the city, and the main body of the Americans was encamped on the northern portion of the island, across which they threw a double row of lines, about four and a half miles below Kingsbridge. Two miles above these lines was Fort Washington, and a few miles below them were the British lines, extending also from river to river.

On the sixteenth the enemy made an attack upon the American advanced posts, but were repulsed and driven off by Virginia and Connecticut troops, but their commanders, Major Leitch, and the brave Colonel Knowlton, one of the heroes of Bunker Hill, both fell in this encounter. The spirits of the soldiers, depressed by repeated defeats and disasters, were somewhat revived by this successful skirmish. Sept.

The armies watched each other for some weeks. Many were sick in the American camp; "it was impossible to find proper hospitals; and they lay about in almost every barn, stable, shed, and even under the fences and bushes."

Sir William Howe now began to collect forces at Throg's Neck, a peninsula in the Sound about nine miles from the American camp. This peninsula was separated from the mainland by a narrow creek and a marsh, which was overflowed at high tide. By means of the bridge and fords, Howe hoped to pass over to the mainland and gain the rear of the Americans, and cut off their communication with New England, whence they received most of their supplies. His plans, though well laid, were defeated. General Heath was on the alert; he was joined by Colonel William Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill, and by Hand with his riflemen, and others; every pass was

CHAP. XXX. guarded, and the planks of the bridge removed. Howe, with his usual caution, waited six days for reinforcements.

1776. By this time General Lee, now more a favorite than ever, had returned from his successful campaign at the South, and Sullivan, Stirling, and Morgan had been restored to the army by exchange. While Howe thus delayed, it was decided, in a council of war, that every American post on New York Island, excepting Fort Washington, should be abandoned. This plan was promptly executed. The army, in four divisions, commanded by Generals Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln, withdrew across Kingsbridge, and gradually concentrated their forces in a fortified camp near the village of White Plains.

Oct. 23.

Still hoping to gain their rear, Howe moved on toward New Rochelle, where he was reinforced by light-horse troops, and Hessians under General Knyphausen, who had recently arrived from Europe. He advanced upon the camp. Scarcely had the Americans intrenched themselves at White Plains when a rumor of his approach reached them. On the twenty-eighth, as Washington, accompanied by his general officers, was reconnoitring the heights in the neighborhood, the alarm was given that the enemy had driven in the picket-guards, and were within the camp. When he reached headquarters he found the army already posted in order of battle. The enemy did not advance upon them; they turned their attention to a height known as Chatterton's Hill, which lay a little south of the camp, and was separated from it by the river Bronx. This height was occupied by sixteen hundred men under General McDougall, and the attack was made at this point. After a feeble resistance, the militia fled, but Hazlet's and Smallwood's regiments, so famous on Long Island, made a brave stand, and repeatedly repulsed the enemy; but, at length, overpowered by numbers, they retreated across the bridge to the camp. This battle of

White Plains was a spirited encounter, in which each of the parties lost about four hundred men. CHAP. XXX.

The British took possession of the hill, and began to intrench themselves; and now, for the third time, the "armies lay looking at each other;" they were within long cannon-shot. 1776.

Could the undisciplined, war-worn, and disheartened Americans hope to escape from a force so well equipped and so powerful? That night was to them an anxious one. It was passed in severe labor; they doubled their intrenchments and threw up redoubts. Some of these were hastily constructed of stalks of corn, pulled up from a neighboring field, with the earth clinging to the roots. These piled with the roots outward, presented an appearance so formidable that Howe, deceived as to their strength, did not attack them, but ordered up reinforcements.

Howe's cautious conduct of the war has been severely criticised, and various reasons have been assigned, but it has never been satisfactorily explained; whatever his reasons may have been, his delay at this time cost him another golden opportunity. Washington withdrew his army in the night-time to the heights of North Castle, a strong position, about five miles distant. His enemy had again eluded him, and Howe retired with his forces to Dobbs' Ferry, on the Hudson. Nov 4.

This movement awakened new fears—did he intend to pass down the river to Fort Washington, or to cross into New Jersey? "He must attempt something," writes Washington, "on account of his reputation, for what has he done yet with his great army?"

To meet the threatened dangers a new disposition was made of the American forces. Lee, with a portion, was to remain at North Castle; Putnam, with another, was to guard the west side of the Hudson; Heath, the guardian of the passes of the Highlands, was to encamp at Peekskill; while General Greene commanded at Fort Lee, and

CHAP. XXX. Colonel Magaw, with the Pennsylvania troops, occupied Fort Washington.

1776. With respect to maintaining Fort Washington, there was a diversity of opinion, as neither that fort nor the obstructions across the channel had prevented the passage of vessels up the Hudson. Washington, with Lee, Reed, and others, was in favor of withdrawing the troops at once. He addressed a letter to Greene, in which he advised this course, but left the matter to his discretion. Greene and Magaw, who were both on the spot, and knew the condition of the fort, decided that it could be maintained, and made preparations accordingly. This was, as the result proved, an injudicious decision. The post was comparatively useless; it was accessible on three sides from the water; the fort was very small, and would not contain more than a thousand men, the lines were very extensive, and the garrison insufficient to man them.

Washington visited the posts along the river. When he arrived at Fort Lee, he was greatly disappointed to find that the troops had not been withdrawn from Fort Washington; and before he could make a personal examination the fort was invested. It was attacked on all sides. The garrison, after a brave resistance, which cost the enemy four hundred men, was driven from the outer lines, and crowded into the fort, where they were unable to fight to advantage, and were exposed to the shells of the enemy. Further resistance was impossible, and Colonel Magaw surrendered all his troops, two thousand in number. During this action the troops of Cadwallader especially distinguished themselves. Of the officers, Colonel Baxter, of Pennsylvania, fell while cheering on his men.

Nov. 16. From the New Jersey shore the Commander-in-chief witnessed a portion of the battle, and again he saw some of his brave troops bayoneted by the merciless Hessians, and wept, it is said, "with the tenderness of a child."

It was resolved to abandon Fort Lee, but before it

was fully accomplished, Cornwallis, with a force six thousand strong, crossed the Hudson to the foot of the rocky cliffs known as the Palisades. The force sent down from North Castle was encamped at Hackensack, which lay between the river of that name and the Hudson, and Washington saw at once that the object of the enemy was to form a line across the country, and hem them in between the rivers. To avoid this he retreated, with all his forces, including the garrison at Fort Lee, to secure the bridge over the Hackensack, thence across the Passaic to the neighborhood of Newark. This retreat was made in such haste that nearly all the artillery was abandoned, the tents left standing, and the fires burning. That night the enemy found shelter in the tents of the deserted camp.

From Newark the army moved on across the Raritan to Brunswick, thence to Princeton, where they left twelve hundred men, under Lord Stirling, to check the enemy, while the main body proceeded to Trenton, and thence beyond the Delaware. The enemy pressed so closely upon them that the advance of Cornwallis entered Newark at one end as their rear-guard passed out at the other, and often during this march, "the American rear-guard, employed in pulling up bridges, was within sight and shot of the British pioneers, sent forward to rebuild them."

Thus less than four thousand men—a mere shadow of an army—poorly clad, with a scant supply of blankets, without tents, and enfeebled for want of wholesome food, evaded, by an orderly retreat, a well appointed force that far outnumbered them, well fed, well clothed, well disciplined, and flushed with victory. When the enemy reached the Delaware, they were unable to cross over, not a boat was to be found; Washington had taken the precaution to have them all secured for a distance of seventy miles, and transferred to the west side. Thus ended this famous retreat, remarkable for the manner in

CHAP. XXX. 1776.

which it was conducted, and the circumstances under which it took place.

Cornwallis was anxious to procure boats and push on to Philadelphia, but Howe decided to wait till the river should be frozen. Meanwhile, the Hessians were stationed along the eastern bank for some miles above and below Trenton.

During his harassed march, Washington had sent repeated and urgent orders to Lee to hasten to his aid with reinforcements. Notwithstanding the emergency, which he well knew, Lee lingered for two or three weeks on the east side of the Hudson, and when actually on the march, proceeded so slowly, that he did not reach Morristown until the eleventh of December.

Lee had a high opinion of his own military abilities, and evidently desired an independent command. The deference which the Americans had paid to his judgment and the importance they attached to his presence in the army, had flattered his natural self-conceit; his success at the South, and the correctness of his views in relation to Fort Washington, had strengthened his influence over them, and now, in this time of depression and discouragement, he hoped by some brilliant exploit to retrieve the fortunes of the army, and gain more glory to himself. In this mood he writes: "I am going into the Jerseys for the salvation of America." And again: "I am in hopes to reconquer, if I may so express myself, the Jerseys; it was really in the hands of the enemy before my arrival." While he pondered over these vain projects, he disregarded the authority of the Commander-in-chief, and, to say the least, subjected him to cruel inconvenience. We have no reason to believe that Lee was untrue to the cause he had embraced, but his wayward conduct, at this time and afterward, has diminished the grateful respect with which Americans would have cherished his memory.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Discouragements.—Effects of Howe's Proclamation.—Affairs on Lake Champlain.—Heroism of Arnold.—Carleton retires to Canada.—Capture of Lee.—Troops from the Northern Army.—Battle of Trenton.—Battle of Princeton.—Death of Mercer.—Washington retires to Morristown.—Cornwallis in his Lines at Brunswick. — Encouragements. — Putnam at Princeton. — Ill-treatment of American Prisoners; their Exchange under Negotiation.—Appointment of General Officers.—Muhlenburg.—Wayne.—Conway.—Medical Department.—The Navy.—Marauding Expeditions.—Peekskill.—Danbury.—Death of Wooster.—Retaliation at Sag Harbor.—Efforts to recruit the Army.—Schuyler and Gates.—The National Flag.

1776.

As the news of this retreat went abroad, the friends of the cause were discouraged. What remained of the army was fast wasting away; their enlistments were about to expire, and the militia, especially that of New Jersey, refused to take the field in behalf of a ruined enterprise. Many thought the States could not maintain their independence; but there were a few who, confident in the justice of their cause, were firm and undaunted. Among these was Washington. In a conversation with General Mercer he remarked: "That even if driven beyond the Alleghanies, he would stand to the last for the liberties of his country."

Howe felt certain the game was his own; he had only to bide his time. He sent forth another proclamation, in

CHAP. XXXI. 1776. which he called upon all insurgents to disband, and Congress to lay down their usurped authority; and offered pardon to all who should accept the terms within sixty days. Many persons, most of whom were wealthy, complied. Among these were two of the delegates from Pennsylvania to the late Continental Congress, and the president of the New Jersey Convention which had sanctioned the Declaration of Independence, and others who had taken an active part in favor of the Revolution. For ten days after the proclamation was issued, from two to three hundred came every day to take the required oath.

The movements of the enemy, and the effect produced by the proclamation, caused great excitement in Philadelphia. Putnam, who had been sent to command there, advised that, during this season of peril, Congress should hold its sessions elsewhere, and it adjourned to meet again at Baltimore.

Dec. 12.

At this time a reinforcement of seven regiments was on its way from Canada. We now return to the forces on Lake Champlain, where we left Schuyler and Gates in a sort of joint command.

The army driven out of Canada, broken, diseased, and dispirited, rested first at Crown Point and then at Ticonderoga. During his retreat, Sullivan wisely secured or destroyed all the boats on Lake Champlain. Its shores were an unbroken wilderness; thus the British were unable to follow up their pursuit by land or by water.

Sir Guy Carleton, flushed with victory, and full of ardor, determined to overcome all obstacles and push his victory to the utmost. He would obtain the command of the Lakes Champlain and George, and by that means subdue northern New York, and then proceed to take possession of Albany, where he hoped to take up his winter-quarters. From that point he hoped, by means of the Hudson, to co-operate with the Howes at New York, to cut off the communication between New England and

the States west and south. This he believed would bring the contest to a speedy close, and secure to himself a share of the honors of the victory. He exerted himself with so much energy and success that at the end of three months he had a well-equipped fleet. The frames of five large vessels that had been brought from England were put together at St. John's on the Sorel. These, with twenty smaller craft and some armed boats, which had been dragged up the rapids of that river, were now launched upon the lake. CHAP. XXXI. 1776.

The Americans were not idle. General Gates authorized Arnold, who was somewhat of a seaman, to fit out and command a flotilla. Arnold threw himself into the enterprise with all the energy of his nature, and soon was master of a force, in vessels and men, nearly half as large as that of Carleton. He moved his little fleet across a narrow strait between Valcour Island and the mainland, in such a position that the whole force of the enemy could not be made to bear upon him at one time; there he awaited the contest. As Carleton, with a favorable wind, swept briskly up the lake, he passed the island behind which Arnold's flotilla lay snugly anchored, before he observed it. The wind was such that the larger ships could not beat up the strait, but the smaller vessels advanced, and a desperate encounter ensued, which was continued until evening came on. Then Carleton arranged his squadron so as to intercept Arnold's escape and awaited the morning; when, if his larger vessels could be made to bear, he felt certain of the prize. The night proved dark and cloudy; favored by this circumstance, Arnold slipped by the enemy, and at daylight was some miles on his way to Crown Point. But as most of his vessels were in bad condition they could make but little headway; only six reached that place in safety, two were sunk, and the others were overtaken by Carleton a few miles from the Point, Oct. 6.

CHAP. XXXI. 1776. where one was captured with the crew. Arnold fought desperately, until his galley, the Congress, was cut to pieces and one-third of her crew killed. Determined that his flag should not be struck, he ordered his vessels to be grounded and set on fire. When this was done he, with his men, leaped out and waded to the shore, and by well-directed rifle-shots kept the enemy at bay till the vessels were consumed and with them the still waving flag; then giving a triumphant cheer, they moved off through the woods to Crown Point, where they found the remnant of the fleet. They stayed only to destroy the houses and the stores at the fort, and then embarked for Ticonderoga. Before the enemy arrived Gates, who commanded at that post, had so strengthened his position that Carleton decided not to attack it, but to retire to Canada and postpone his wintering in Albany to some future day.

As the forts on the Lakes were safe for the present, General Schuyler detached the seven regiments, of which we have spoken, to the relief of Washington. When Lee learned that three of these regiments were at Peekskill he ordered them to join him at Morristown. The remaining four, under General Gates, were passing through northern New Jersey toward Trenton.

Gates was detained by a severe snow-storm, and uncertain as to the exact position of the army, he sent forward Major Wilkinson with a letter to Washington, stating his position and asking what route he should take to the camp. Wilkinson learned that Washington had crossed the Delaware; and as General Lee, the second in command, was at Morristown, he made his way thither. Just at this time Lee with a small guard was quartered for the night at a tavern at Baskenridge, three miles from his army, which was left under the command of Sullivan. Here he was joined by Wilkinson on the morning of the Dec. 13. thirteenth of December. Lee took his breakfast in a leisurely manner, discussed the news, and had just finished

a letter to General Gates when, much to his surprise, the house was surrounded by a party of British dragoons. He had not dreamed that an enemy was near, and his guards were off duty. But a Tory of the neighborhood had learned the evening before where he intended to lodge and breakfast, and had, during the night, ridden eighteen miles to Brunswick to inform the enemy and to pilot them to the spot. For a few moments all was confusion. The dragoons were calling for the General, and the General was calling for the guards, who were scattered in all directions. The scene was soon closed. General Lee without a hat, clad in a blanket-coat and slippers, was mounted on a horse that stood at the door, and borne off in triumph to the British army at Brunswick."

Had Lee, by some fortunate accident, succeeded in retrieving the fortunes of the army, unsuccessful under Washington, it is probable that the wishes of the people might have turned toward him as commander-in-chief. For men are too apt to judge of those who live in the same age with themselves merely by their success; and too often they yield to what is self-confident and assuming, the honor and respect due to sober judgment and high moral principles.

Under these circumstances, Lee's success would have proved most unfortunate for the country, for he had neither the judgment nor the principle necessary to guide it safely through the approaching crisis.

After the capture of Lee the troops under Sullivan moved on at once to join the Commander-in-chief. General Gates, who had left his regiments at Morristown, reached the camp on the same day. As Washington had now a force of about six thousand men fit for service, he was anxious to strike a blow that should revive the courage of the army and the people before the disbandment of those troops whose terms of enlistments were about to

CHAP. XXXI. 1776.

expire. The prospect of success was doubtful, but he felt that, under the circumstances, inaction would ruin the cause, and defeat could do no more.

Howe was in New York; Cornwallis, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was there also. The British forces in New Jersey, though strong, were much scattered. The Hessians, who were in the advance, were carelessly cantoned at different points along the eastern bank of the Delaware. Colonel Donop was stationed at Burlington, and his forces were quartered above and below that point. Colonel Rahl, who had distinguished himself at White Plains and Fort Washington, was at Trenton with a force of fifteen hundred men. This brave but careless commander took his ease, enjoyed his music and bath, and when it was proposed to throw up works upon which to mount cannon in readiness against an assault, said merrily: "Pooh pooh! an assault by the rebels! Let them come; we'll at them with the bayonet." The Hessians were a terror to the people; they plundered indiscriminately Whig and Tory. The American soldiers hated them intensely for their savage bayonetings on the battle-field, and were eager to avenge the outrages inflicted upon their friends and countrymen.

Washington proposed to cross the river and surprise the Hessians at different points. A council of war was held, and Christmas night was fixed upon for the enterprise. By the plan proposed Washington himself was to cross nine miles above Trenton and march down upon that place. Colonel Ewing, with the Pennsylvania militia, was to cross a mile below the town and secure the bridge over Assunpink creek, at the south side of it, and thus cut off the enemy's retreat. Adjutant-general Reed and Colonel Cadwallader, who were stationed at Bristol, nearly opposite Burlington, were to cross below that place

and advance against Count Donop's division. The attacks were to be simultaneous, and five o'clock on the morning of the twenty-sixth was the hour agreed upon. CHAP. XXXI. 1776

Just after sunset, on Christmas night, the division under Washington, twenty-four hundred in number, began to pass over. With this division was a train of twenty field-pieces under the command of Colonel Knox. The river was filled with floating ice, and the weather was intensely cold. The boats were guided by Colonel Glover and his regiment of Marblehead fishermen, the same who had guided the boats on the memorable retreat from Long Island. The night was extremely dark and tempestuous, and the floating ice and strong wind drove them out of their course again and again.

Washington had hoped to be on the march by midnight, but hour after hour passed, and it was four o'clock before the artillery was landed and the troops ready to move on. They marched in two divisions, one led by Washington (with whom were Generals Greene, Stirling, Mercer and Stephen), by a circuitous route to the north of the town, while the other, under Sullivan, with whom was Colonel John Stark, with his New Hampshire band, was to advance by a direct road along the river to the west and south side. Sullivan was to halt at a certain point to allow time for the main division to make the circuit.

It was eight o'clock before this division reached the immediate neighborhood of Trenton; they had struggled through a terrible storm of hail and snow; it had impeded their march, but it had also aided to conceal their movements from the enemy. Washington, who had pushed on with the advance, asked of a man who was chopping wood by the road-side the way to the Hessian picket. He answered gruffly, "I don't know," and went on with his work. "You may tell," said Captain Forrest of the artillery, "for that is General Washington." "God bless Dec 26.

CHAP. XXXI. 1776.

and prosper you" exclaimed the man, raising his hands to heaven, "the picket is in that house, and the sentry stands near that tree."

In a few minutes the picket-guards were driven in. Late as it was, the Hessians were completely surprised. According to their custom, they had indulged freely in the festivities of Christmas, and were resting thoughtless of danger, when the drums suddenly beat to arms. All was confusion. At the first alarm, Colonel Rahl, who learned from the lieutenant of the picket-guard that a large force was advancing to surround him, endeavored to rally his panic-stricken troops. He seems to have meditated a retreat to Princeton; he had, in fact, passed out of the town, but the ambition of the soldier triumphed in his breast; how could he fly before the rebels he had despised? He rashly returned to the charge. By this time Washington had gained the main street, and opened a battery of six field-pieces, which swept it from end to end. As Rahl advanced at the head of his grenadiers he fell mortally wounded. At the fall of their leader his soldiers attempted to retreat, but they were intercepted by Colonel Hand, with his Pennsylvania riflemen; and, hemmed in on all sides, they grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion.

Stark, with his detachment, had assaulted the south side of the town, and the firing in that quarter had added to the general confusion. A party of British light-horse, and five hundred Hessians stationed there "took headlong flight, by the bridge across the Assunpink," and thus escaped and joined Donop at Bordentown. Had Colonel Ewing been able to cross, according to the arrangement, their escape would have been prevented.

The Americans took one thousand prisoners, of whom thirty-two were officers; of their own number, only two were killed and two were frozen to death on the march. Several were wounded, among whom was James Monroe,

afterward President of the United States, who was at this time a lieutenant in the army. CHAP. XXXI.

The attack designed by Reed and Cadwallader, like that of Colonel Ewing, was prevented by the ice, which made it impossible for them to embark their cannon. Thus the success was incomplete, and Washington at Trenton, encumbered by his prisoners, with a strong force of the enemy below him under Count Donop, and another in his rear at Princeton, prudently resolved to recross the Delaware. 1776.

Before he left the town he, with General Greene, visited Colonel Rahl, who survived until the evening of the day after the battle. The dying colonel remembered his grenadiers, and during this visit he commended them to the consideration of Washington. Rahl lies buried in the grave-yard of the Presbyterian church in Trenton.

When Washington had disposed of his prisoners and allowed his troops a little time to recruit, he resolved to return and follow up his success before the enthusiasm it had awakened had time to cool. Meantime, he had received from Reed and Cadwallader, who had crossed on the twenty-seventh, the encouraging news that all the Hessian posts on the river were deserted; that Count Donop had retreated with all haste to Brunswick, with a portion of his forces, while the remainder had made their way to Princeton. Dec. 27.

"A fair opportunity is now offered," writes Washington at this time, "to drive the enemy out of New Jersey," and he formed his plans accordingly. The American forces, now no longer needed to guard the Delaware, were gradually concentrating at Trenton. Parties were sent to harass the retreating enemy, and General Heath was ordered to make a demonstration from the Highlands, as if he intended to attack New York. The New England regiments whose terms were about to expire were induced by a bounty of ten dollars and the persuasions of their

CHAP. XXXI. 1776.

officers to remain six weeks longer. Men of standing and influence were sent abroad to rouse the militia of New Jersey to avenge the outrages inflicted upon the people by the Hessians. Matters began to wear a brighter aspect, and hope and enthusiasm were revived.

At this crisis Washington received the highest mark of confidence in the gift of the people—Congress invested him with unlimited military authority for six months. The letter of the committee which conveyed to him this resolution closed with these words: "Happy is it for this country that the general of their forces can safely be intrusted with the most unlimited power, and neither personal security, liberty, nor property be in the least endangered thereby."[1]

Nothing could exceed the astonishment of Howe when he learned that his Hessians, veterans in war, had fled before the militia. Cornwallis was hurried back to resume his command in the Jerseys.

Washington, anxious to ascertain the movements and designs of the enemy, sent forward Colonel Reed, who was well acquainted with the country, to reconnoitre. With Reed were six young horsemen, members of the "Philadelphia City Troop," full of fire and zeal, but who had never seen active service. No reward could induce the terror-stricken people to approach Princeton and bring them information. Nothing daunted, the party dashed on till they were in view of the top of the college building, when they observed a British dragoon passing from a barn to a farm-house. Supposing him to be a marauder, they determined to capture him and obtain the desired information. Presently they saw another and another. They charged at once and surrounded the house, "and twelve dragoons, well armed, with their pieces loaded, and hav-

[1] Correspondence of the Revolution, vol. iv., p. 552.

ing the advantage of the house, surrendered to seven horsemen, six of whom had never seen an enemy before, and, almost in sight of the British army, were brought into the American camp at Trenton, on the same evening." [1] The sergeant of the dragoons alone escaped. The information obtained from these prisoners was most important. Cornwallis, with a body of picked troops, had joined Colonel Grant the day before at Princeton, and they were ready to march the next day upon Trenton, with a strong force of seven or eight thousand men. CHAP. XXXI. 1776.

In anticipation of an attack, Washington arranged his men, in number about six thousand, in a favorable position on the east bank of Assunpink creek. As the enemy approached, on the second of January, their advance was harassed, and so effectually held in check by forces sent forward under General Greene and Colonel Hand, that they did not reach Trenton till near sunset. The fords and bridges over the creek were carefully guarded and defended by the American batteries. Cornwallis made repeated attempts to cross, but was as often repulsed; at each repulse a shout ran along the American lines. Thinking that the struggle might be a desperate one, the British commander concluded to defer it till the next day, and retired with the boast that he would "bag the fox in the morning." Both armies kindled their camp-fires, and once more they rested in sight of each other. Jan. 2.

Never had the prospect of the Americans been so gloomy. The officers gathered at the quarters of General Mercer to hold a council of war; to retreat was impossible; behind them was the Delaware, filled with floating ice. Who could propose an expedient that would relieve them from the present dilemma? Such an expedient, one of the boldest and best conceived of the whole war,

[1] Life of Colonel Reed, p. 369.

CHAP. XXXI. 1777. had crossed the mind of the Commander-in-chief. He judged that the main division of the British forces was with Cornwallis; that Princeton and Brunswick, where their stores were deposited, could be but imperfectly guarded. He proposed to march by a circuitous and obscure road around the left flank of the enemy to Princeton, capture the forces there, and then push on and seize the stores at Brunswick. The plan was accepted at once, and the officers entered into it with alacrity. The stores were sent down the river to Burlington, and various stratagems were resorted to to deceive the enemy. Small parties were left behind, some to be noisily employed in digging trenches within hearing of their sentinels; others to relieve the guards and replenish the camp-fires and preserve all the appearance of a regular encampment; at daylight these were to hasten after the army.

About midnight the Americans began their silent march. The road over which they moved was new and rough, and at sunrise they were still three miles from Princeton. Here they halted and formed into two divisions, one of which, under Washington, was to proceed by a cross-cut to the town, while the other, under General Mercer, was to gain the main road and destroy the bridge, when they had passed over, to prevent the approach of Cornwallis.

Jan. 3. Three British regiments had passed the night at Princeton, and two of them were already on their march to join the forces at Trenton. Colonel Mawhood, commander of the foremost, when about two miles from the town, caught sight of Mercer's division. Believing it a party of Americans who had been driven from Trenton, he sent back a messenger to Princeton to hurry on the other regiments, that they might surround them and cut off their retreat. Presently Mercer espied the British, and now both parties rushed to gain a favorable position on a rising ground. The Americans were successful, and

with their rifles opened a severe fire upon the enemy, who returned it vigorously. Almost at the first fire Mercer's horse was shot under him, and the second officer in command fell mortally wounded. The enemy took advantage of the confusion that followed the fall of the leaders and rushed on with the bayonet. The Americans, who were without bayonets, unable to withstand the charge, gave way. As Mercer, now on foot, endeavored to rally them, he was struck down, bayoneted, and left on the field apparently dead. CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

As his men retreated in confusion, a body of Pennsylvania militia, which Washington had sent to their aid, appeared in sight. Mawhood instantly checked his pursuit of the fugitives and opened upon these fresh troops a heavy fire of artillery which brought them to a stand.

Convinced by the continued firing that the conflict was serious, Washington spurred on in advance of his division, and just at this crisis had reached a rising ground near by, from which he witnessed the scene. He saw the scattered forces of Mercer, the hesitation of the militia; everything was at stake. He dashed forward in the face of Mawhood's artillery, exposed both to the fire of the enemy and the random shots of his own soldiers, and waving his hat, called upon the faltering and broken forces to follow him. Inspired by his voice and example, they rallied at once and returned to the charge. At this moment a Virginia regiment emerged from a neighboring wood, and with loud cheers engaged in the conflict; while the American artillery, now within range, began to shower grape-shot upon the enemy. The fight was desperate, but the field was won. Mawhood, who, a few minutes before, had felt certain of victory, now with great difficulty forced his way back to the main road and retreated with all haste toward Trenton.

The second regiment was attacked by the brigade under St. Clair; broken and scattered, it fled across the

CHAP. XXXI. 1777. fields towards New Brunswick. Alarmed at the general rout, a part of the third regiment fled in the same direction, while another portion took refuge in the college building. The American artillery was immediately brought to bear upon it, and they soon surrendered.

The British loss in this battle was about one hundred slain and three hundred prisoners, while the Americans lost but few; among these was the brave Colonel Haslet. Mercer, who was left on the field for dead was after the battle discovered by Colonel Armstrong, still alive, but suffering greatly from his wounds, and exposure to the cold. He was borne to a neighboring farm-house, where, after a few days, he expired. As a soldier, he was brave; as a man of sterling merit, he was worthy the respect of his adopted countrymen, for, like Montgomery, he was of foreign birth, and like him, he has won an honorable name among the heroes of the Revolution.

Washington, eager to secure the stores so necessary for his army, pushed on some distance toward Brunswick. A little reflection convinced him that his troops, in their exhausted condition, could not reach there before they would be overtaken. They had been a night and a day without rest; they were thinly clad, and some of them were barefoot. He stopped and held a consultation with his officers on horseback. They decided that it was injudicious to proceed. Grieved and disappointed that they were unable to reap the advantage of their recent success, they turned their steps toward Morristown.

When morning revealed to the enemy on the banks of the Assunpink the deserted camp of the Americans, Cornwallis was greatly at a loss to divine to what covert the "fox" had fled. Soon the booming of cannon at Princeton gave him the desired information. His thoughts turned at once to the stores at Brunswick; he must save

them from the hands of his enemy. His march back to Princeton was much impeded. The Americans had not forgotten to throw obstacles in his way. He found the bridge over Stony Creek, a few miles from the town, broken down, and the party of Americans left for that purpose still in sight. Impatient of delay, he urged on his soldiers, who, although the waters were breast high, dashed across the stream. Believing that Washington was in full march for Brunswick, he halted not at Princeton, but hurried on in pursuit with so much eagerness that he did not observe that the Americans had diverged from the road.

The American army retreated to a strong position at Morristown. There the soldiers provided themselves huts, and remained until the last of May.

For six months after the battle of Princeton no enterprise of importance was undertaken by either party.

The yeomanry of New Jersey were now thoroughly roused to preserve their State from further depredations. They warmly seconded the efforts of Washington, and greatly aided the detachments from the army, who were on the alert to cut off the foraging parties of the enemy; and so effectually did they harass them that they scarcely ventured out of sight of their camp. Thus unable to obtain provisions for his army, Cornwallis gradually withdrew within his lines, at Brunswick and Amboy, that he might be in communication with New York by water, whence alone he could draw his supplies. Thus those who, a few weeks before, were in possession of nearly all New Jersey, were now able to retain scarcely more of her soil than was sufficient for a camp.

The success that had crowned the American arms at Trenton and Princeton cheered the hearts and revived the hopes of the patriots; but they knew well that the enemy was checked, not conquered; that the struggle must be renewed, and the result was still doubtful.

CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

Washington had established his headquarters at Morristown, while the right wing of his army, under Putnam, was stationed at Princeton, and the left was in the Highlands, under General Heath. Along this extended line, at convenient distances, were established cantonments. Though weak in numbers, the army was so judiciously posted that the enemy, deceived by its apparent strength, hesitated to attack it.

Putnam, who had with him but a few hundred men, resorted to stratagem to hide his weakness. A British officer, who lay mortally wounded at Princeton, desired the presence of a military comrade in his last moments. The kind-hearted general could not deny the request; he sent a flag to Brunswick in quest of the friend, who entered Princeton after dark. Every unoccupied house was carefully lighted, lights gleamed in all the college windows, and the Old General marched and countermarched his scanty forces to such effect that the British soldier on his return to the camp reported them as at least five thousand strong.

The winter at Morristown was a season of comparative quiet, during which the Commander-in-chief was engaged in earnest efforts to improve the state of his army. The evil effects of the system of short enlistments adopted by Congress, and repeatedly protested against by Washington, were severely felt at this juncture. The terms of great numbers were about to expire, and new recruits came in but slowly. To guard against the ravages of small-pox, which at times had been fatally prevalent in the army, these were inoculated as fast as they came in.

The exchange of prisoners had become a subject of negotiation. At first the British refused to exchange on equal terms on the plea that the Americans were rebels, but Howe, who had at this time about five thousand on his hands, opened a correspondence with Washington on the subject. Now the Americans in their turn objected

to an exchange. Their captured countrymen had been left to the tender mercies of the New York Tories, crowded into warehouses which had been converted into prisons, or into loathsome hulks anchored in the bay; fed with impure food, and left to languish in filth and nakedness. Thrilling tales are told of the sufferings of those confined in the sugar-house and on board the Jersey, a prison-ship. More than ten thousand wretched American prisoners died during the war, and were buried without ceremony in shallow graves at Brooklyn, on Long Island. Of those who survived scarcely one ever fully recovered from the effects of these hardships. CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

Washingon refused to recruit the British army by an exchange of well-fed and hale Hessian and British prisoners for emanciated and diseased Americans, whose terms of enlistment had expired and who were scarcely able, from very weakness, to return to their homes. His policy was sanctioned by Congress—a severe policy, but authorized by the necessities of the times.

To supply the want of field-officers, Congress commissioned five major-generals: Stirling, St. Clair, Mifflin, Stephen and Lincoln. The latter we have seen as the secretary of the first Provincial Congress of Massachusetts. He was afterward the efficient commander of the militia of that State, and now he was promoted over the heads of all the brigadiers. In these appointments, Arnold, whose meritorious conduct on the battle-field, as well as his seniority as a brigadier, entitled him to promotion, was entirely overlooked. He complained bitterly of this injustice; the wound rankled in his proud breast; from this hour till he found consolation in revenge he seems to have brooded over the disrespect shown him by his countrymen. Feb. 19.

Eighteen brigadier-generals were also commissioned, among whom were Glover, the leader of the Marblehead fishermen; George Clinton, of New York, the sturdy

CHAP. XXXI. 1777. guardian of the Highlands, and afterward Vice-President, Woodford and Muhlenburg, of Virginia—the latter a Lutheran clergyman, who at the commencement of hostilities had "laid aside the surplice to put on a uniform," raised a company of soldiers, and who continued in the army till the close of the war—and Hand and Anthony Wayne, of Pennsylvania. Wayne was by nature a soldier; even in his school-days he turned the heads of his companions by telling them stories of battles and sieges, and drilled them in making and capturing mud forts. In later years he was so distinguished for his daring that he became known in the army by the appellation of "Mad Anthony."

An Irish adventurer named Conway, who professed to have served for thirty years in the French army, and to be thoroughly skilled in the science of war, was also commissioned. He proved, however, more famous for intrigues than for military genius or courage.

Congress also authorized the enlistment of four regiments of cavalry. The quartermaster's department was more perfectly arranged, and General Mifflin was placed at its head.

The hospital department was also reorganized, and placed under the charge of Doctor Shippen, of the Medical College at Philadelphia. His principal assistant was Doctor Craik, the friend and companion of Washington in his expeditions against Fort Du Quesne.

Doctor Rush, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and afterward celebrated in his profession, was appointed surgeon-general. The office of adjutant-general, resigned by Colonel Reed, was given to Timothy Pickering, of Massachusetts.

Nor was the navy neglected. Of the vessels authorized to be built, several frigates had been finished and equipped, but the want of funds prevented the completion of the remainder, for the Continental money began to depreciate,

and loans could not be obtained. The entire American fleet under Admiral Hopkins was at this time blockaded at Providence. But privateers, especially from New England, were eager in pursuit of British vessels trading to the West Indies, of which they captured nearly three hundred and fifty, whose cargoes were worth five millions of dollars. A profitable trade, principally by way of the West Indies, was also opened with France, Spain and Holland, but it was attended by great risks, and a large number of American vessels thus engaged fell into the hands of British cruisers. CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

In the spring, while Washington still remained at Morristown, the British commenced a series of marauding expeditions. A strong party was sent up the Hudson to seize the military stores at Peekskill. General McDougall, finding it impossible to defend them against a force so superior, burned them, and retired with his men to the hills in the vicinity. As General Heath had been transferred to the command in Massachusetts, Washington sent Putnam to command in the Highlands.

A month later Cornwallis made an attack on a corps under General Lincoln, stationed at Boundbrook, a few miles from Brunswick. The militia, to whom the duty was intrusted, imperfectly guarded the camp. Lincoln with difficulty extricated himself, after losing a few men and some cannon. April 13.

Presently a fleet of twenty-six sail was seen proceeding up the Sound; anxious eyes watched it from the shore. It was the intriguing Tryon, now a major-general, in command of a body of Tories two thousand strong, who was on his way to destroy the military stores collected at Danbury, Connecticut. He landed on the beach between Fairfield and Norwalk on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth, and immediately commenced his march. April.

CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

The alarm spread; General Silliman, of the Connecticut militia, called out his men, and sent expresses in every direction. Arnold, who had been sent by Washington some months before to prepare defences at Providence and obtain recruits, happened to be in New Haven when the express arrived with the intelligence of the inroad. He hastened with some volunteers to join Generals Wooster and Silliman, whose forces amounted to about six hundred militia; and the whole company moved after the marauders.

Tryon, who had marched all night, reached Danbury on the afternoon of the twenty-sixth. He commenced at once to destroy the magazines of stores. Although the inhabitants had abandoned their homes at his approach, he permitted his soldiers to burn almost every house in the village. By morning the work of destruction was complete. The militia were approaching, and the marauders were compelled to run the gauntlet to their ships, twenty miles distant.

The Americans were separated into two divisions, one under Wooster, the other under Arnold; while the former was to harass the enemy in the rear, the latter was to make a stand at a convenient point in advance and obstruct their progress.

The brave Wooster, though sixty-eight years of age, led forward his men with great spirit. When they, unused to war, faltered in the face of the enemy's musketry and artillery, he rode to the front and cheered them. "Come on, my boys," cried he, "never mind such random shots." At that moment a musket-ball pierced his side, and he fell from his horse mortally wounded. His soldiers now retreated in confusion.

Arnold had made a stand at Ridgefield, two miles beyond the spot where Wooster fell, and while the enemy was delayed by this skirmishing, he had thrown up a barricade or breastwork. He acted with his usual daring,

but after a spirited resistance his little force was overpowered by numbers and driven back. As he was bringing off the rear-guard his horse was shot under him; before he could disengage himself from the struggling animal a Tory rushed up with a fixed bayonet and cried out, "You are my prisoner." "Not yet," replied Arnold, as he coolly levelled his pistol and shot him dead. He then escaped, rallied his men, and renewed the attack. CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

The determined resistance of the militia retarded the British so much that they were forced to encamp for the night. The next day they were greeted with the same galling fire from behind trees, fences, and houses, which continued until they came within range of the guns of their ships. They speedily embarked, fain to escape the rifles of the exasperated yeomanry. April 27.

General Wooster was conveyed to Danbury, where he died surrounded by his family. His loss was greatly deplored by the patriots. A neat monument in the cemetery of that place now marks his grave.

When Congress learned of the gallant conduct of Arnold, they commissioned him a major-general and presented him with a horse richly caparisoned. Yet even this tardy acknowledgment of his military merit was marred,—the date of his commission still left him below his proper rank. He seemed to feel this second slight more keenly than the first.

The Americans resolved to retaliate in kind, and Colonel Return Jonathan Meigs, of Connecticut, with one hundred and seventy men, passed over the Sound to the east end of Long Island. They carried their boats during the night fifteen miles across the neck, launched them on the bay, passed over to Sag Harbor, and destroyed a great amount of provisions and forage collected there for the British. In addition, they burned twelve vessels, May 24.

CHAP. XXXI. took ninety prisoners, and returned without losing a man, having passed over ninety miles in twenty-five hours.

1777. Though strenuous efforts were made to obtain recruits, the smallness of the American army still continued; want of funds crippled every measure. At the instance of Washington, Congress declared that those redemptioners or indented servants who enlisted in the army should, by that act, become freemen; and bounties in land were offered the Hessians to induce them to desert.

Meanwhile General Schuyler labored with great zeal in the Northern Department. But his feelings were severely tried by the aspersions which his enemies cast upon his character and conduct of affairs. In the autumn of 1776 he wrote: "I am so sincerely tired of abuse, that I will let my enemies arrive at the completion of their wishes as soon as I shall have been tried; and attempt to serve my injured country in some other way, where envy and detraction will have no temptation to follow me." But Congress would not accept his resignation. During the winter he made repeated appeals to the Commander-in-chief for reinforcements and supplies, which, for want of means, could not be sent. There were but six or seven hundred men at Ticonderoga; Carleton, he thought, might cross Lake Champlain on the ice and attack them; if successful, he might follow out his original plan and push on to Albany. As the abuse of which Schuyler complained was continued, early in April he proceeded to Philadelphia, and demanded of Congress a committee to inquire into his conduct. Meantime General Gates had been ordered to take command at Ticonderoga.

Schuyler's patriotism was not an impulse, not a matter of mere words, nor did injustice rouse in his breast, as in that of Arnold, the dark spirit of revenge. However, the committee reported in his favor; and, with his character and conduct fully vindicated, he returned to the charge of the Northern Department. The ambitious Gates was

deeply chagrined and disappointed; he had flattered himself that Schuyler would never resume his command, and regarded himself as virtually his successor. Professing to be aggrieved, he hastened to Philadelphia to seek redress at the hands of Congress. CHAP. XXXI. 1777.

The want of a national flag was greatly felt, especially in the marine service. Congress adopted the "Union Flag," with its thirteen stripes, but displaced the "Cross of St. George," and substituted for it thirteen stars; to which one star has since been added for each additional State. June.

CHAPTER XXXII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Struggle excites an Interest in England and France.—Baron De Kalb.—Privateers fitted out in France.—Negotiations for Munitions of War.—Howe's Manœuvres.—Burgoyne on his Way from Canada.—Ticonderoga Captured.—St. Clair's Retreat to Fort Edward.—Efforts to arrest the Progress of Burgoyne.—Capture of General Prescott.—The Secret Expedition.—The British Fleet puts to Sea.—The American Army at Germantown.—La Fayette.—Pulaski and Kosciusko.—Aid sent to Schuyler.—Howe lands at Elkton.—Battle of Brandywine.—Possession taken of Philadelphia.—Battle of Germantown.—Hessians repulsed at Fort Mercer.—Winter Quarters at Valley Forge.

CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

THE unfortunate result of the battle of Long Island; the loss of New York and Fort Washington; and the retreat across New Jersey, were all significant of the weakness of the patriot army. Intelligence of these disasters disheartened the friends of the cause in Europe. Edmund Burke, their firm friend, remarked that, although the Americans had accomplished wonders, yet the overpowering forces to be brought against them in the following campaign must completely crush their hopes of independence. Said he: "An army that is obliged, at all times and in all situations, to decline an engagement may delay their ruin, but can never defend their country."

The intelligent portion of the people of France were not indifferent spectators of this struggle; it was watched with intense interest by her merchants, her manufacturers,

her statesmen. From the day on which Canada was wrested from her, France had ardently hoped that her proud rival might in turn lose her own American colonies. Ten years before the commencement of hostilities, Choiseul, the enlightened statesman and prime minister of Louis XV, sent an agent through the colonies, to ascertain the feelings of the people. That agent was Baron De Kalb, the same who afterward so nobly served the cause in the American army. He was indefatigable in "collecting pamphlets, newspapers, and sermons," which he sent to his employer. Choiseul gathered from them the proofs that the British king and ministry, by their blindness and injustice, were fast alienating the good will of their colonists; and he hoped by offering them, without restriction, the commerce of France, to alienate them more and more. Thus the minds of the French people and government were prepared to afford aid, but not under the present aspect of affairs.

Early in the spring, intelligence reached Europe that the American army, which was supposed to be broken beyond recovery, had suddenly rallied, boldly attacked, and driven the invaders out of New Jersey. It was scarcely thought possible. How could a handful of ill-disciplined, ill-armed yeomanry, so destitute of clothes that some of them froze to death while on duty, and others stained the snow with the blood that flowed from their naked feet, meet and defeat a regular army? Surely men who would thus cheerfully suffer deserved independence! A thrill of enthusiasm was excited in their favor. They were regarded as a nation of heroes, and Washington, because of his prudence and skill, was extolled as the American Fabius.

With the connivance of the government, American privateers were secretly fitted out, and even permitted to sell their prizes in French ports, in spite of the protests

CHAP. XXXII. of the British ambassador. The government itself secretly sent arms and military stores for the American army.

1777. This was done by means of a fictitious trading-house, known as "Hortales and Company." These supplies were to be paid for in tobacco sent by the way of the West Indies. Soon after the battle of Lexington, secret negotiations on the subject had been entered upon in London by Beaumarchais, an agent of the French court, and Arthur Lee, who for some years had resided in that city as a barrister. The latter was a brother of Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, for which colony he had acted as agent in England. The Secret Committee of Congress, in the meantime, sent Silas Deane to Paris as an agent to obtain supplies. Though Deane appeared in that city simply as a merchant, he became on object of suspicion, and was closely watched by British spies. Beaumarchais now made arrangements with him to send three ships laden with military stores to the United States. Unfortunately two of these ships were captured by British cruisers; the third, however, arrived opportunely to furnish

April. some of the regiments recently enlisted at Morristown.

Three months after the Declaration of Independence, Doctor Franklin was sent to join Deane in France, and thither Lee was also directed to repair. To these commissioners Congress delegated authority to make a treaty of alliance with the French court. They were admitted to private interviews by Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, and encouraged, but the government was not yet prepared to make an open declaration of its true sentiments.

The British ministry, by means of spies, obtained information of some of these proceedings. They immediately issued letters of marque and reprisal against the Americans, while Parliament cheerfully voted supplies

Feb. and men to prosecute the war.

CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

As the spring advanced, the enemy's movements were watched with anxious interest. That he might observe them to better advantage, Washington, on the twenty-eighth of May, removed his camp to the heights of Middlebrook, a strong and central position. Early in June, Sir William Howe, who had received large reinforcements, and supplies of tents and camp equipage, established his headquarters at Brunswick, about ten miles distant. He commenced a series of manœuvres and made a feint movement toward Philadelphia, in the hope of drawing Washington from the heights into the open plain, where British discipline might prevail; the latter was too cautious to be thus entrapped, and Howe, foiled in his attempt, retraced his steps to Brunswick. Presently he evacuated that place, and hastened with all speed toward Amboy. Washington sent an advance party in pursuit, but suspecting this move was also a feint, he followed slowly with the main body. The suspicion was just; Howe suddenly wheeled, and by a rapid movement endeavored to turn the Americans' left, in order to gain the passes and heights in their rear, but Washington saw his object in time to gain his stronghold. Unable to bring on an engagement, Howe in a few days withdrew his forces to Staten Island.

May.

June 20.

Just before this time, important news had been received from the North. Burgoyne, who had succeeded Sir Guy Carleton, was about to advance by way of Lake Champlain, while a detachment under General St. Leger and Sir John Johnson was to make its by Oswego to the Mohawk River. On the very day that the British left New Jersey, further intelligence came from St. Clair that the enemy's fleet was actually approaching Ticonderoga, where he was in command.

The force under Burgoyne was not precisely known; it was, however, thought to be small, but in truth he had a finely equipped army of nearly ten thousand men, four-

CHAP. XXXII. 1777. fifths of whom were regulars, British and Hessian; the remainder Canadians and Indians. It was furnished with one of the finest parks of field-artillery, under the command of General Phillips, who had acquired his great reputation as an artillery officer in the wars of Germany. He was also ably supported by the second in command, General Fraser, an officer of great merit, and who was characterized as the soul of the army. The Hessians were under Baron Riedesel.

Near Crown Point, Burgoyne met the chiefs of the Six Nations in council, and induced four hundred of their June. warriors to join him. A few days later he issued a bombastic proclamation, in which he threatened to punish the patriots who would not immediately submit, and to let loose upon them the Indians.

St. Clair, who had but three thousand men, wrote to General Schuyler at Albany that he could not defend Ticonderoga unless he had reinforcements, ending his letter by saying: "Everything will be done that is practicable to frustrate the enemy's designs; but what can be expected from troops ill-armed, naked, and unaccoutred?" Still unaware of the force of the enemy, he trusted in his position, and that he could hold out for some time.

There was an abrupt hill on the edge of the narrow channel which connects Lakes Champlain and George. This hill commanded Fort Ticonderoga, and also Fort Independence, on the east side of Champlain. It was thought by St. Clair and others to be absolutely inaccessible for artillery. But the "wily Phillips," acting on the principle that "where a goat can go a man may go; and where a man can go, artillery may be drawn up," suddenly appeared on this hill-top. For three days he had been at work taking his cannon up the height, and in twenty-four hours he would be ready to "rain iron hail" on both the forts from his Fort Defiance.

The Americans must now evacuate the forts, or be made prisoners. St. Clair chose the former. He could only escape in the night, and his preparations must be made in the face of the enemy. The two hundred bateaux were to be laden with stores, the women, the sick and wounded, and sent up South River. St. Clair, with the main body, was to pass to Fort Independence, and with its garrison march through the woods to Skeenesborough, now Whitehall. With the greatest secrecy and speed the arrangements were made; the boats, concealed by the deep shadows of the mountains, were under way; the main body had passed over the drawbridge to Independence, and was on its march, and the rear division was just leaving Ticonderoga, when suddenly, about four o'clock in the morning, the whole heavens were lighted up; a house on Mount Independence was on fire, and its light revealed the Americans in full retreat. Alarm guns and beating of drums aroused the British. General Fraser was soon in motion with his division, the abandoned forts were taken possession of, and by daylight measures concerted to pursue the fugitives both by land and water. Fraser was to pursue St. Clair with his division, and General Riedesel to follow with his Hessians, while Burgoyne himself sailed in his ships to overtake the American flotilla. On the afternoon of the next day the flotilla reached Whitehall; but scarcely were they landed when the roaring of artillery told that the British gunboats had overtaken the rear-guard of galleys. Presently, fugitives from these brought intelligence that the British frigates had landed Indians who were coming to cut off their retreat. Everything was abandoned and set on fire; all took to flight toward Fort Anne, at which place, after a most harassing night-march, they arrived. The enemy appeared the same day, but were held in check by sharp skirmishing. The Americans thought this the vanguard of Burgoyne's army, and they set Fort Anne on fire and retreated

July 6.

CHAP. XXXII. sixteen miles further to Fort Edward, where General Schuyler had just arrived with reinforcements.

1777. General St. Clair continued his retreat, and at night arrived at Castleton; his rear-guard, contrary to his express orders, stopped six miles short of that place. The next morning the guard was startled by an attack from Fraser's division, which had marched nearly all night. At the first onset a regiment of militia fled, but the regiments of Warner and Francis made a spirited resistance; yet they were compelled to yield to superior numbers, and make the best retreat they could. St. Clair, in the meantime, pushed on through the woods; after seven days he appeared at Fort Edward, with his soldiers wearied and haggard from toil and exposure.

Schuyler sent at once a strong force to put obstructions in Wood Creek; to fell trees and break down the bridges on the road from Fort Anne to Fort Edward. This being the only road across that rough and thickly wooded country, it took Burgoyne three weeks to remove these obstructions and arrive at Fort Edward. The British hailed with shouts of exultation the Hudson—the object of their toil. It would be easy, they thought, to force their way to Albany, in which place Burgoyne boasted he would eat his Christmas dinner.

July 30.

Schuyler now retreated to Saratoga. In these reverses the loss of military stores, artillery, and ammunition was immense, and the intelligence spread consternation through the country. The American army under Schuyler consisted of only about five thousand men, the majority of whom were militia; many were without arms, while there was a deficiency of ammunition and provisions.

Just at this time a daring and successful adventure mortified the enemy and afforded no little triumph to American enterprise. The commanding officer at Newport, General Prescott, famous for the arbitrary and

contemptuous manner in which he treated the "rebels," offered a reward for the capture of Arnold, who replied to the insult by offering half the sum for the capture of Prescott. It was ascertained, by means of spies, that the latter was lodging at a certain house in the outskirts of the town. On a dark night a company of select men, with Colonel Barton at their head, crossed Narraganset Bay in whale-boats, threading their way through the British fleet. They secured the sentinel at the door, burst into the house, and seized Prescott, who was in bed. The astonished General only asked if he might put on his clothes. "Very few and very quick," replied Barton. He returned with his prisoner across the bay without being discovered. This was a counterpart to the capture of Lee, for whom Prescott was afterward exchanged.

July 13.

The uncertainty as to the designs of the enemy was perplexing. Washington learned from spies in New York that Howe was preparing for an expedition by water, but its destination was a profound secret. Burgoyne was evidently pressing on toward the South, to obtain possession of the Hudson. Did Howe intend to move up that river to co-operate with him, and thus cut off the communication between New England and the other States; to make an attack on Boston, and thus employ the militia of those States at home and prevent their joining Schuyler, or to endeavor to reach Philadelphia by water? were questions difficult to answer. In the midst of these speculations as to its destination, the British fleet, on board of which were about eighteen thousand men, under the command of Howe, passed out through the Narrows and bore away. Intelligence came in the course of ten days that it was seen off Cape May, and Washington moved the army across the Delaware to Germantown, a few miles from Philadelphia.

July 30.

Presently it was ascertained that the fleet had sailed to the eastward. Was it to return to New York, or had

CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

it sailed for Boston? Till the designs of the enemy were more definitely known, the army was held in readiness to march at a moment's notice.

While waiting for time to unravel these mysterious movements of Sir William, Washington visited Philadelphia to consult with Congress, and to give directions for the further construction of fortifications on the Delaware, to prevent the enemy from ascending to the city. Some months before, Arnold, after refusing the command in the Highlands offered him by Washington to soothe his wounded feelings, had accepted that in Philadelphia, and with the aid of General Mifflin had already partially constructed defences.

The Duke of Gloucester, the brother of the king of England, at a dinner given him by French officers in the town of Mentz, had told the story, and the cause of the rebellion then going on in America. A youth of nineteen belonging to one of the noble families of France was a listener. For the first time he heard of the Declaration of Independence, and the full particulars of the struggle for liberty then in progress in the colonies beyond the Atlantic. His generous sympathies were enlisted; he could appreciate the nobleness of their cause, and his soul was fired with the desire to fly to their aid. Though happily married, and blest with wealth, high social position, and domestic joys, he was willing to leave them all and risk his life in the cause of freedom. This young man was the Marquis De Lafayette.

Though the French government was not prepared to take a decided stand while the issue seemed doubtful, yet this consideration, instead of checking, inflamed his ardor. "Now I see a chance for usefulness which I had not anticipated. I have money; I will purchase a ship, which will convey to America myself, my companions, and the freight for Congress." Such were his words; and he se-

cretly purchased a vessel which Deane loaded with military stores, and, accompanied by eleven officers, among whom was the Baron De Kalb, he sailed directly for the United States. He landed on the coast of South Carolina, and proceeded at once to Philadelphia, to have an interview with Congress. The number of foreign officers who were applicants for employment in the army was so great that Congress found difficulty in disposing of them. Deane had been authorized to engage a few competent officers, but he seems to have accepted all who applied; and many came as adventurers, and "even some who brought high recommendations were remarkable for nothing but extravagant self-conceit and boundless demands for rank, command, and pay."[1] CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

But the earnest disinterestedness of Lafayette captivated all hearts. Though he offered to serve as a volunteer without pay, Congress commissioned him a major-general, but without any special command. A few days after this, Washington and Lafayette met—names to be ever linked in the annals of freedom. Congress also accepted the services of Count Pulaski, already famous for his patriotic defence of his native Poland. His fellow-countryman, Thaddeus Kosciusko—a youth of twenty-one—afterward equally celebrated in fighting, though unsuccessfully, for the liberties of the same Poland, was already with General Schuyler, acting in the capacity of engineer. Aug. 3.

It was now ascertained that Sir Henry Clinton, whom Howe had left in command in New York, had a force sufficient not merely to penetrate up the Hudson and co-operate with Burgoyne, but to send detachments and create a diversion in favor of Howe in the vicinity of Philadelphia.

Just at this time came urgent appeals from Schuyler,

[1] Hildreth, vol. iii. p. 194.

CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

and Washington detached to his aid two brigades from the Highlands, and soon after Colonel Morgan with his riflemen, to counteract the Indians, of whom the militia had a great dread. He had already sent Arnold, who would be of special service in that region—the scene of some of his brilliant exploits. Now he directed General Lincoln, who was in Massachusetts, to repair thither with a portion of the militia of that State, and sent an express to Putnam to hold himself in readiness to repel any attack from Clinton, and prevent his forming a junction with Burgoyne. We will now leave the affairs in the North till we have disposed of those connected with Howe's expedition.

In the midst of uncertainty, Washington was about to issue orders for the army at Germantown to move toward New York when an express brought him the intelligence that the British fleet had passed into the Chesapeake. The mystery was easily explained. Howe had learned of the obstructions in the Delaware, and he now designed to land his troops at the head of the Chesapeake, and march thence to Philadelphia, while the fleet should return and, in concert with the land forces, reduce the forts on the Delaware. After being delayed some weeks by adverse winds, his army was now landed at Elkton, about sixty miles from Philadelphia. His first demonstration was to issue another of his famous proclamations; again he offered pardon to those rebels who would submit, and promised protection to those persons who would remain peaceably at home.

Aug. 25.

The main body of the American army was still at Germantown, where the militia, that had been called out, had assembled. Washington was sadly deficient in men and means to meet the British in open conflict; and there were no hills in the region which he could occupy. He had only eleven thousand effective men; there was none

of that enthusiasm which was then bringing the militia in thousands to repel Burgoyne. The Quakers of Delaware and Pennsylvania were at best but lukewarm in the cause, while the Germans wished to be neutral and to avoid the expense.

Washington concentrated his army in the vicinity of Wilmington, but after examining the country resolved to fall back beyond the Brandywine creek, which was everywhere fordable. The main road to Philadelphia crossed the creek at Chadd's Ford. This, it was thought, would be the main point of attack. A hill overlooking the ford had been intrenched, and there Wayne was stationed with the artillery. The right wing was commanded by Sullivan, who had just arrived with three thousand men from Jersey; his division extended two miles up the creek. The left wing, under General Armstrong—the same who destroyed the Indian town of Kittaning—extended a mile below, while General Greene, with the reserve, was stationed in the rear of the centre on the hills.

Sept. 11. In the morning the enemy in heavy column was descried moving toward Chadd's Ford. This division could be only partially seen because of intervening woods, but it appeared to be the main body of the enemy. Skirmishing soon commenced between the riflemen and the enemy, who made several attempts to cross the ford, but were as often repulsed.

Near mid-day a note from Sullivan stated he had heard that Howe, with a large body of troops, was passing up another road, with the intention of reaching the upper fords of the creek, and then turning the right flank of the Americans. Washington sent a company to reconnoitre. In the meantime he determined to throw his entire force on the enemy immediately in his front, and rout them before they could obtain assistance from the division marching the other road; his orders were given for both wings to co-operate. This would have been a skilful move and,

CHAP. XXXII. in all probability, have secured the defeat of Knyphausen, who, with his Hessians, was in front.

1777. At the moment Sullivan was complying with the order, unfortunately Major Spicer came from the upper fords and reported that there was no enemy in that quarter. This information was transmitted to the Commander-in-chief, who, in consequence, countermanded the former order till he could receive further information. After waiting some time a patriot of the neighborhood, with his horse in a foam, dashed into the presence of Washington, and declared that Howe was really passing the fords and rapidly gaining the rear of the American army. Washington replied that he had just heard there was no enemy in that quarter. "You are mistaken, general," exclaimed the excited countryman; "my life for it, you are mistaken." And tracing the course of the roads in the sand, he showed him the position. All doubts were removed in a few minutes by the return of the party sent to reconnoitre, with intelligence that a large body of the enemy was fast gaining their rear.

Lord Cornwallis, led by Tory guides, had marched a circuit of seventeen miles, and Knyphausen was merely waiting at Chadd's Ford for that circuit to be accomplished.

Sullivan was ordered to oppose Cornwallis, and Greene, with the reserve, to give aid where it might be needed. Sullivan made a vigorous resistance, but was forced to fall back to a piece of woods, in which the British became entangled. The Americans rallied on a hill, and there made a still firmer resistance, but were at length compelled to fall back. Greene was now ordered to move to their support, which he did with such rapidity that his men marched, or rather ran, five miles in less than an hour. Such was the skilful disposition of his soldiers that they not only checked the enemy, but opened their ranks and let the retreating Americans pass through.

This brave conduct of the reserve saved Wayne's division from a complete rout. He had stubbornly withstood the Hessians at the Ford, but when he saw the forces under Sullivan retreating, unable to cope with half the British army, he gradually, and in order, fell back. The Hessians were not disposed to press upon their determined foe. Thus ended the battle of Brandywine. The Americans were driven from the field, but the soldiers were not aware that they had suffered a defeat; they thought they had received only a check. Though some of the militia gave way at once, the great majority fought bravely, met the enemy in deadly conflict with the bayonet, and forced them back; but at last numbers prevailed. CHAP. XXXII. 1777.

Lafayette behaved with great bravery and prudence; he had leaped from his horse to rally the troops, when he was severely wounded in the leg. Count Pulaski also distinguished himself greatly—riding up within pistol-shot of the enemy to reconnoitre. Congress promoted him to the rank of brigadier-general, and gave him the command of the horse.

Sir William Howe loved repose, and he did not press his advantage, but remained two days encamped near the field of battle.

During this time the Americans retreated first to Chester, and on the twelfth safely crossed the Schuylkill, and thence proceeded to Germantown; there Washington let them repose a day or two. They were in good spirits; he prepared to meet the enemy again, and with this intention crossed the river. About twenty-five miles from Philadelphia the two armies met, but a furious storm prevented a conflict. The rain so much injured the arms and ammunition that Washington deemed it prudent once more to recross the river and retire to Pott's Grove, about thirty miles from Philadelphia. General Wayne was detached in the meanwhile with fifteen hundred men to secretly gain the rear of the British army, and cut off Sept. 16.

CHAP. XXXII. 1777. Sept. 20. their baggage; but a Tory carried information of the enterprise, and Wayne himself was surprised, and after the loss of three hundred men forced to retreat.

When it seemed certain that the city must fall into the hands of the British, the military stores were removed and a contribution levied upon the inhabitants for blankets, clothes, shoes, and other necessaries for the army during the approaching winter.

It was a time of great danger, and Congress again clothed Washington with absolute power, first for sixty days, and soon after for double that period. This done, that body adjourned, first to Lancaster, and then in a few days to York, beyond the Susquehanna.

Howe, by a night march, was enabled to pass the Schuylkill; he then pushed on a detachment which took possession of Philadelphia, while the main body of his army halted at Germantown. Sept. 22.

Though the city was in the hands of the enemy, the Americans still held possession of the forts on the lower Delaware.

With much exertion, Admiral Howe had brought the fleet round from the Chesapeake and anchored it below the forts. Fort Mifflin was situated on a low mud island at the confluence of the Schuylkill and the Delaware. Directly opposite, at Red Bank, on the Jersey shore, was Fort Mercer. These were furnished with heavy cannon. Heavy timbers framed together, with beams projecting and armed with iron spikes, were sunk in the river by means of weights; in addition to these obstructions were floating batteries above.

Washington, having learned from intercepted letters, that a detachment had left Germantown to aid the fleet in an attack on these forts, resolved to surprise the remainder. After a night's march of fourteen miles, he entered Germantown at sunrise. A dense fog concealed

the outskirts of the town, and he was unable to learn the precise position of the enemy, or that of his own troops. The British, taken by surprise and thrown into confusion, gave way on all sides. The Americans, instead of pursuing their advantage, lingered to attack a strong stone house, in which a few of the enemy had taken refuge, when an unaccountable panic seized them: the complete victory within their grasp was lost. The enemy now rallied and attacked in their turn; but the Americans retreated without loss, and carried off all their cannon and their wounded.

CHAP. XXXII. 1777. Oct. 4.

Washington, in writing to Congress, says: "Every account confirms the opinion I at first entertained, that our troops retreated at the instant when victory was declaring herself in our favor." And such is the testimony of many officers in their letters to their friends.

The effect of the bold attack upon Germantown was soon perceptible in the spirit of the Americans. One writes: "Though we gave away a complete victory, we have learnt this valuable truth, that we are able to beat them by vigorous exertions, and that we are far superior in point of swiftness; we are in high spirits." Again we find expressions of confidence of a different character. An officer writes: "For my own part, I am so fully convinced of the justice of the cause in which we are contending, and that Providence, in its own good time, will succeed and bless it, that were I to see twelve of the United States overrun by our cruel invaders, I should still believe the thirteenth would not only save itself, but also work out the deliverance of the others."

Howe immediately withdrew his troops from Germantown. He must either obtain possession of the forts, that his fleet might come up, or evacuate the city for want of provisions. The Americans, on the other hand, resolved to defend the forts to the last extremity. Howe sent Count Donop, with twelve hundred picked men,

CHAP. XXXII. grenadiers, to make an assault on Fort Mercer, while the men-of-war should open on Fort Mifflin and the floating batteries. The outworks of Fort Mercer were not fully completed, when Count Donop suddenly appeared. Colonel Christopher Greene ordered the men — four hundred Rhode Island Continentals — to keep out of sight as much as possible. To deceive the enemy, he made a short stand at the outer works, and then retreated rapidly to the inner redoubt. The enemy advanced in two columns; the Americans received them with a brisk fire, and then retreated in haste. The Hessians thought the day their own, and with shouts of triumph rushed to storm the inner redoubt. They were met by an overwhelming discharge of grape-shot and musketry, and completely repulsed, with the loss of four hundred men; the Americans lost but eight slain and twenty-nine wounded. After the battle, as an American officer was passing among the slain, a voice called out: "Whoever you are, draw me hence." It was Count Donop. A few days afterward, when he felt his end approaching, he lamented his condition. "I die," said he, "the victim of my ambition and of the avarice of my sovereign."

1777. Oct. 22.

Fort Mifflin was commanded by Colonel Samuel Smith, of Maryland. In their attack upon it the British lost two men-of-war—one of which was blown up, the other burned.

Meantime the enemy received reinforcements from New York, and were able to take possession of another island, on which they erected batteries, and opened an incessant fire upon Fort Mifflin. After a most undaunted defence, both forts were abandoned, and the enemy left to remove the obstructions in the river at their leisure.

Nov. 16.

On the twenty-ninth Washington retired to White Marsh, fourteen miles from Philadelphia. Before going into winter-quarters, Howe thought to surprise his camp. A Quaker lady, Mrs. Darrah, overheard some British

officers speaking of the intended expedition; she immediately gave Washington information of what was going on. Preparations were made to give the British a warm reception. A company was sent to harass them on their night-march. Finding themselves discovered, they hesitated to press on. The next day, Howe labored to draw Washington into the plain, where British discipline might be successful. When he saw the effort was useless, he retired to Philadelphia. CHAP. XXXII. 1777. Dec. 5.

Congress now summoned the militia to repair to the main army. A few days after Howe's withdrawal from Germantown, Washington also retired to winter-quarters at Valley Forge, a rugged hollow on the Schuylkill, about twenty miles from Philadelphia. He could thus protect the Congress at York as well as his stores at Reading.

We now turn to relate events—most important in their influence—which, during the last few months, had transpired in the North.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Invasion from Canada.—Appointment of General Gates.—Burgoyne's Advance.—Jenny McCrea.—St. Leger besieges Fort Stanwix.—The Attempt to relieve it.—St. Leger retreats.—Battle of Bennington.—Change of Prospects.—Battle of Behmus's Heights.—Ticonderoga besieged.—Burgoyne surrenders his Army at Saratoga.—The Prisoners.—Capture of Forts on the Hudson.—Schuyler.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1777.

THE unlooked for loss of Ticonderoga, with the disasters that so rapidly followed, startled the people of the northern States more than any event of the war. So little did Congress appreciate the difficulties under which Schuyler and his officers labored, that they attributed these misfortunes to their incapacity. John Adams, then President of the Board of War, gave expression to this feeling when he wrote: "We shall never be able to defend a post till we shoot a general." In the excitement of the moment, Congress ordered all the northern generals to be recalled and an inquiry instituted into their conduct. The northern army would thus be without officers; but, on a representation to this effect, Washington obtained a suspension of the injudicious order. Clamors against Schuyler were renewed with greater violence than ever. In truth, many members of Congress were influenced by an unreasonable prejudice which had been excited in New England against him. When Washington, whose confidence in Schuyler was unshaken, declined to make any

change in the Northern Department, "Congress made the nomination; the Eastern influence prevailed, and Gates received the appointment, so long the object of his aspirations, if not intrigues." [1]

The correspondence between Washington and Schuyler makes known the plan upon which they agreed to repel the invaders. This was to keep bodies of men on their flank and rear, intercept their supplies, and cut off the detachments sent from the main army. We shall see how completely this plan succeeded.

Confident of subduing the "rebels," Burgoyne, on his arrival at Fort Edward, issued a second proclamation, in which he called upon the people to appoint deputies to meet in convention at Castleton, and take measures to re-establish the royal authority. To counteract this, Schuyler issued a proclamation, threatening to punish those as traitors who in this manner should aid the enemy. Burgoyne's proclamation had no effect; the hardy yeomanry were too patriotic. The whole northern portion of the country was deeply moved, and the militia rallied to arms.

The Indians of Burgoyne's army prowled about the country, murdering and scalping. A beautiful girl, Jenny McCrea, the daughter of a Scotch Presbyterian clergyman of New Jersey who died before the war, was visiting a friend in the vicinity of Fort Edward. Her family were Whigs; she was, however, betrothed to a young man, David Jones, a Tory, who had gone to Canada some time before, and was now a lieutenant in Burgoyne's army. When Fort Edward was about to be abandoned, her brother urged her to leave with the families of the neighborhood, who were going out of danger to Albany. She lingered; she hoped, perhaps, to see her lover, but as

[1] Washington Irving.

CHAP. XXXIII.

1777.

danger drew nearer she prepared to comply with her brother's request.

At the moment of leaving, a band of Indians sent by Burgoyne to harass the Americans burst into the house, and carried her off a captive. Anxious for her safety, she promised her captors a reward, if they would take her to the British camp. On the way the Indians quarrelled as to who should have the promised reward, and one of them in a rage killed the poor girl, and carried off her scalp. This murder sent a thrill of horror throughout the land. The people remembered the murders of former days, when the Indians were urged on by French influence; and now they asked, Must those scenes be re-enacted by the savage hirelings of England, our mother country? And they flocked in thousands to repel such an enemy. Thus "the blood of this unfortunate girl was not shed in vain. Armies sprang up from it. Her name passed as a note of alarm along the banks of the Hudson; it was a rallying word among the green mountains of Vermont, and brought down all her hardy yeomanry." [1]

Aug. 3.

St. Leger had passed up the Oswego, and was besieging Fort Stanwix, or Schuyler. This fort was on the Mohawk, at the carrying-place to Lake Oneida. With St. Leger was Sir John Johnson, with his Royal Greens, and his savage retainers, the Mohawks, under the celebrated chief, Brant. This Brant had been a pupil in Wheelock's school — since Dartmouth College — established for the education of Indians and others. The fort was held by two New York regiments, under Colonels Gansevoort and Willet. General Herkimer raised the militia of the neighborhood, and went to relieve the fort. But owing to the impatience of his men, he fell into an ambuscade of Tories and Indians. Johnson's Greens were Tories from this vicinity, and neighbor met neighbor in

[1] Washington Irving.

deadly conflict. It was one of the most desperate encounters of the war; quarter was neither given nor asked. There were instances, when all was over, where the death-grasp still held the knife plunged into a neighbor's heart. It seems as if the fight had been presided over by demons. The brave old Herkimer was mortally wounded, but leaning against a tree, he continued to encourage his men, till a successful sortie from the fort compelled the enemy to defend their own camp. The Americans retreated, taking with them their worthy commander, who died a few days after.

The fort was still in a precarious condition, and must be relieved. When intelligence of this came to the army, Arnold volunteered to march to its aid. To frighten the Indians he employed stratagem. He sent in advance the most exaggerated stories of the number of his men, and proclaimed that Burgoyne had been totally defeated. As anticipated, the Indians deserted in great numbers. The panic became so great that, two days before Arnold arrived at the fort, St. Leger had retreated, leaving his tents standing.

Aug. 22.

General Schuyler now moved from Saratoga down to the mouth of the Mohawk, and there intrenched himself. The British had the full command of Lake George; but, with all their exertions, they were nearly out of provisions. The distance from the upper end of that lake to the Hudson was only eighteen miles, but so effectively had the draft-cattle and horses been removed that it seemed almost impossible to transport their baggage.

To obtain horses for a company of dismounted German dragoons and seize stores collected at Bennington, Vermont, Burgoyne sent a detachment of Indians and Tories, and five hundred Germans, under Lieutenant-colonel Baum. He had been told that the grain and provisions deposited in that place were but poorly guarded.

CHAP. XXXIII. He was also made to believe that five to one of the people were royalists.

1777. It was soon noised abroad that the enemy were on the way, and the Green Mountain Boys began to assemble. Colonel Stark having been slighted, as he thought, at the recent appointment of officers by Congress, had withdrawn from the Continental army. He was invited to take command of the assembling yeomanry; he accepted the invitation with joy. Expresses were sent in every direction to warn the people to drive off their cattle and horses, and conceal their grain and wagons, and also to Manchester, for Seth Warner to hasten to Bennington with his regiment.

Aug. 14. When Baum—who moved very slowly, his men stopping in the woods every few minutes to dress their lines—was within six miles of Bennington, he heard of Stark's approach; he halted, began to intrench, and sent to Burgoyne for reinforcements. Colonel Breyman was sent to his aid, with five hundred Hessians and two field-pieces. A severe storm prevented Stark from making an attack, and also retarded the march of Breyman and Warner. During the night the Berkshire militia joined Stark. An incident may show the spirit of the times: "Among these militia was a belligerent parson, full of fight, Allen by name, possibly of the bellicose family of the hero of Ticonderoga." [1] "General," cried he, "the people of Berkshire have been often called out to no purpose; if you don't give them a chance to fight now they will never turn out again." "You would not turn out now, while it is dark and raining, would you?" demanded Stark. "Not just now," was the reply. "Well, if the Lord should once more give us sunshine, and I don't give you fighting enough," rejoined the veteran, "I'll never ask you to turn out again."

[1] Irving.

The next morning the sun did shine, and Stark drew out his forces. When he came in sight of the enemy, turning to his men he exclaimed: "There are the red-coats! We must beat to-day or Molly Stark's a widow." The attack was made in both rear and front at the same time. The Indians and Tories generally fled to the woods. Baum defended his lines with great determination, and his field-pieces were well manned, but after two hours' fighting the works were stormed. The Americans had no artillery, but they rushed up within a few yards of the enemy's cannon, the better to take aim at the gunners. At length Baum fell mortally wounded, and his men surrendered.

Scarcely was the battle ended, when Breyman appeared on the one side, and Warner, who had marched all night in the rain, on the other. The fighting was renewed, and continued till night. Favored by the darkness, Breyman left his artillery and made the best of his way back to Burgoyne. About two hundred of the enemy were slain and six hundred taken prisoners. A thousand stand of arms and four pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the Americans, who had but fourteen killed and forty wounded.

What a change a few weeks had produced in the prospects of the two main armies! To the Americans the militia were flocking, the brigades from the Highlands had arrived, and Morgan with that terror of the Indians, his riflemen, five hundred strong. Disasters, in the meanwhile, crowded upon Burgoyne. The side enterprises of St. Leger and Baum had failed; the New Hampshire and Massachusetts troops were pressing on toward Ticonderoga to cut off his supplies and intercourse with Canada. The Indians, in great numbers, were deserting. They had taken umbrage because their atrocities were to be hereafter restrained. Burgoyne was a gentleman, humane and cultivated; he abhorred these outrages, and, to his honor be it said, preferred that the savages should

CHAP. XXXIII. 1777. leave his army rather than they should remain and be unrestrained. The disgrace of employing them belongs to his government at home, not to him.

It was at this juncture that Gates arrived to take command. He found the army in high spirits, nearly Sept. six thousand in number, and increasing every day. Schuyler met him with his usual highminded courtesy, explained fully the condition of the two armies, and offered him all the assistance he could give, by his counsel or otherwise. So little could Gates appreciate such generous impulses that, a few days after, when he called his first council of war, he omitted to invite Schuyler.

Leaving the islands at the mouth of the Mohawk, Gates moved up the river and took position on Behmus's Heights—a ridge of hills extending close to the river-bank and lying nearly east of Saratoga. There he intrenched his army by strong batteries on the right and left.

Burgoyne had thrown a bridge of boats over the Hudson, and led over the English portion of his army to Saratoga, while the Hessians remained on the eastern side. Both divisions moved slowly down the river. There were deep ravines and woods between the two armies, and knolls covered with dense forests; also, in one place, a cleared field. On the nineteenth it was announced that the enemy were in motion toward the American left. Here Arnold commanded, while Gates took charge of the right. It was the intention of the British to draw the Americans in that direction and then to make an assault on their centre, when thus weakened, and cut their way through to Albany. Gates designed to wait the attack in his camp, but Arnold wished to hold the enemy in check, and not permit them to turn the American left. After much solicitation, he obtained permission from Gates to send Morgan with his riflemen to check the enemy. The riflemen soon met, and put to flight the advance-guard, but pursuing them with too much ardor, they came upon a

strong column, and were themselves forced to fall back in confusion. Arnold now came to their aid with other regiments, and soon he was contending almost hand to hand with the entire British right wing. He sent repeatedly to Gates for reinforcements, which the latter refused to send, and excused himself on the ground that he would thus weaken his own wing; and Arnold, with only three thousand men, was left for four hours to sustain the attack. The severest conflict was around, and in the open field. The Americans were posted on the one side in a dense wood, where cannon could not be used; the British on the opposite side in a thin pine grove, where they could use their artillery. When the British would move into the field, the American riflemen would drive them back, and when the Americans became the pursuers, the British would sweep their ranks with their cannon. A dozen times this field was lost and won. The riflemen repeatedly took possession of the British artillery, but the roughness of the ground would not permit them to secure the guns; and before they could turn them, they themselves were driven off at the point of the bayonet. Night ended the contest; the Americans withdrew to their camp, and the British remained on the field of battle. The latter lost more than five hundred, while the Americans lost less than three hundred. They looked upon the result as a triumph; they had accomplished all they intended, and the enemy had failed in their designs.

Sept. 19.

Two days before the battle of Behmus's Heights, a detachment of Lincoln's militia, under Colonel Brown, had seized the posts at the outlet of Lake George; also a fleet of bateaux laden with provisions for Burgoyne's army, and three hundred prisoners. The same party united with another, and laid siege to Ticonderoga.

Burgoyne's intercourse with Canada was thus cut off; his provisions were fast diminishing, and his horses were dying for want of forage. At this moment of darkness

CHAP. XXXIII. 1777.

came a gleam of light—a note from Sir Henry Clinton—informing him that in a few days he would make an effort to ascend the Hudson. In hopes of maintaining his position until Clinton could relieve him, Burgoyne began to fortify his camp. For nearly three weeks the two armies watched each other. Almost every day advanced parties skirmished, but as Gates was deficient in ammunition, he hesitated to attack.

Meantime there was trouble in the American camp. The soldiers attributed the success of the late battle to the generalship of Arnold. But for some reason, jealousy perhaps, Gates removed him from his command.

Hearing nothing further from Clinton, Burgoyne resolved to risk a battle, and cut his way through the opposing force. He therefore sent a detachment of fifteen hundred picked men to take position within a mile of the

Oct. 7.

American lines. A New Hampshire brigade attacked this division furiously, and Morgan, with his riflemen, managed to cut them off from their camp.

Arnold was in his tent, brooding over the treatment he had received, and had almost resolved to leave the army. Suddenly he heard the noise of battle; his ruling passion was instantly on fire. Mounting his horse, he rode with all speed to the scene of conflict. Gates, who saw him as he dashed away, exclaimed: "He will do some rash thing," and sent after him orders, by Major Wilkinson, to return; but in vain,—Arnold heard only the roar of battle. He rushed into the thickest of the fight, cheered on the men, who answered him with shouts of recognition. To those looking on, he seemed insane. By his exertions the British lines were broken again and again, but as often General Frazer would rally his men and renew the conflict. Presently Frazer fell mortally wounded by one of Morgan's riflemen. The whole line gave way, abandoned their cannon, and with the greatest effort regained their camp. In

spite of a shower of grape and musketry, the Americans rushed headlong to the assault. Arnold rode directly into a sally-port, where his horse was shot under him, and he himself was severely wounded—a ball had shattered his leg. His men now fell back. A regiment of Massachusetts men, more fortunate, forced their way through the German intrenchments, and maintained their position for the night, and secured a large amount of ammunition. 1777.

The Americans slept on their arms, intending to renew the contest in the morning. But when morning came, Burgoyne's army, drawn up in order of battle, appeared on the heights in the rear. During the night he had abandoned his sick and wounded, and skilfully led off his men. The next day he retreated to Saratoga, six miles distant. It was to cover this retreat that he ordered General Schuyler's mansion and extensive saw mills to be burned. That he might continue his retreat, he sent a party to repair the bridges toward Fort Edward, but they found the way occupied by the Americans, who had taken nearly all the boats laden with provisions for his army. All the passes by which he could extricate himself were in the hands of his enemy; cannon-balls and bullets fell almost every moment in his camp. He had only three day's provisions; his effective force was reduced to four thousand men, and they were dispirited, worn out with hunger and fatigue. Not a word had he heard from Clinton, while the American army, already twelve thousand strong, was increasing daily.

Burgoyne now called a council of war, which resolved to open negotiations with General Gates. Having heard that Clinton, a few days previous, had succeeded in taking two of the forts on the Hudson, and that he might possibly reach Albany, Gates was disposed to make liberal terms. The conditions of the surrender were: That the British army should march out with the honors of war; that the soldiers should be taken to Boston, and thence

Oct. 13.

CHAP. XXXIII. 1777.

to England; and they were not to serve against the United States until exchanged. The number of prisoners was about six thousand; the arms, artillery, and military stores were immense. The German regiments saved their colors; they took them off their staves, and concealed them among the baggage of the Baroness de Riedesel.[1] The British garrison of Ticonderoga evacuated that place and retired to Canada.

Congress refused to ratify the terms under which Burgoyne surrendered. His soldiers, if taken to England, would doubtless be placed in garrison, while those thus relieved would be sent to reinforce Clinton at New York. Only Burgoyne himself, with two attendants, was permitted to proceed to England, while the soldiers were retained as prisoners. The following year they were marched to Charlottesville, in Virginia, where they were quartered in log huts, and where the greater number of them remained till the close of the war.

As has been already stated, the garrisons in the Highlands were much weakened, by sending detachments both to the North and to the South. Sir Henry Clinton had received the long expected reinforcements from England, and he now proposed to force his way up the Hudson, in order to unite with Burgoyne. On the day before that general's last battle, Clinton attacked and captured the

Oct. 6.

Forts Montgomery and Clinton. Though the New York militia turned out well, the forts could not be maintained. Governor George Clinton commanded. He sent to Putnam for aid, which he would have received had not the messenger turned traitor, and deserted to the enemy. Under the directions of Governor Tryon, Kingston, or Esopus, was burned. When these marauders heard that

[1] This lady accompanied her husband, Baron de Riedesel, during this campaign. She has left a thrilling narrative of the trying scenes at Saratoga.

Burgoyne had surrendered they retreated, setting fire to every house within reach. This was about the very time that Burgoyne and his army were receiving liberal terms of capitulation.

General Gates, in transmitting his report of the surrender, did not send it to the Commander-in-chief, as was his duty, and as courtesy required, but sent it directly to Congress. The soldiers in the army attributed the success of the battles at Saratoga to the skilful management of Arnold and Morgan. Gates did not even mention their names in his full dispatches to Congress.

Soon after, General Schuyler insisted that his management of the Northern Department, previous to the appointment of Gates, should be investigated.

A Court of Inquiry was instituted, and he was not only acquitted of the charge of mismanagement of any kind, but with the highest honor. Though strongly urged by Congress to remain in the army, he declined. He had too much self-respect to continue in a position where he could be made a victim of unfriendly prejudice, yet too patriotic to relinquish his country's cause. Soon after he took his seat as a member of Congress.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Sufferings at Valley Forge.—England disappointed; conciliatory measures of Parliament.—The War presses hard upon the American People.—Difficulties and Jealousies in Congress.—The "Conway Cabal."—Baron Steuben.—Attempt to increase the Army.—Congress in Want of Funds.—Exchange of Lee; his Treason.—Treaty with France.—Encouragements.—British Commissioners.—Philadelphia evacuated.—Battle of Monmouth.—Misconduct of Lee.—The French Fleet.—Combined attack upon Newport fails.—Marauding Expeditions.—A British Fleet.—Massacre at Wyoming and Cherry Valley.—Invasion of Georgia.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

THE surrender of Burgoyne revived the hopes of the Whigs and sent dismay into the ranks of the Tories. The American soldiers suffered intensely in their rude huts at Valley Forge. For days at a time without meat, and again without bread; no medicines for the sick, nor comfortable lodgings. Many of the soldiers were so deficient in clothes that they could not lie down, lest they should freeze to death, but were forced to sit round their camp-fires.

These were the men, few of whose names have ever reached us, but who clung to their country's cause in this hour of suffering, and who, in the day of battle, poured out their life's blood. They were, for the most part, the intelligent yeomanry of the land; from the farm, from the workshop, from the merchant's store; supporters of their own families, or sustainers of orphan brothers and sisters. What a contrast with the common soldiers of the invad-

ing army! They were, in part, the enlisted rabble of the British Isles. In their bosoms there was not a throb of generous feeling, nor with them was it a question in what cause, or on what field they fought; and yet in the same army were others, even more degraded, drawn from "the shambles of petty German despots."

The king and ministry were sanguine their plans, so wisely laid, would be successfully carried out; that at the end of the campaign the American army would be broken and scattered; that they would have a line of posts extending from Lake Champlain to the Bay of New York. Instead of the realization of these hopes, intelligence came that Burgoyne had surrendered his entire army. The sensation produced in England was great indeed. Rumors stole into the country that France, their ancient enemy, was about to aid the Americans; that Holland was about to loan them money. England's pride was touched. Should she, who had made all Europe tremble, be baffled in her efforts to subdue her revolted colonists? A new spirit was awakened; many of the large commercial towns offered to raise regiments to supply the places of those surrendered at Saratoga, and present them to the king. Yet there were others, moved by compassion, and it may be by sympathy for the cause, who liberally subscribed money to relieve the wants of the American prisoners in England, whom the government had left to suffer for the necessaries of life.

These sentiments had their effect on Parliament, and when it assembled, the friends of America renewed their assaults upon the policy of the king. They, from the first, had opposed the war as unjust, and had opposed the enlisting of Hessians; but more especially did they denounce the inhuman policy of employing savages to murder and scalp their brethren beyond the Atlantic. There were other causes of complaint. The merchants

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

clamored for redress; the American trade was broken up; debts could not be collected; especially were they aggrieved that the slave-trade had been reduced four-fifths. American cruisers had already seized nearly six hundred of their vessels. These cruisers swarmed to such an extent, even in the British seas, that it became necessary to convoy by armed ships merchant vessels from one port of the kingdom to another. More than twenty thousand men had perished in the war; more than a hundred millions of dollars had been expended; their expectations had been greatly raised, but as yet nothing was gained.

Lord North was constrained to bring in two bills, by which the king hoped to reconcile his American subjects. On this occasion, the former declared in the House that he himself had always been opposed to taxing the colonies. The king, in truth, was the prime mover and sustainer of the measure. One of these bills exempted the Americans from taxation, the other appointed commissioners to negotiate with them, for the purpose of restoring the royal authority. Thus was yielded, but ungraciously, the whole ground of the contest.

The moment the French government heard of the passage of these bills, it proposed to acknowledge the Independence of the United States, and to make with them a treaty offensive and defensive. That the belligerents should fight and weaken each other, France was willing, but rather than they should become reconciled, she declared for the Americans.

Though the war had cost England much, it had cost the Americans more. In many portions of the country, their ruthless invaders had laid waste their cultivated fields; in other portions they were unsown, because the husbandmen were in the army; property was wasting away; debts were accumulating, with no prospect of payment. The Bills of Credit issued by Congress were almost

worthless. As with individuals, so with the State; both were bankrupt. On the sea-board, foreign commerce, the coasting trade, and the fisheries were carried on at such risks as to be almost annihilated. Nine hundred vessels had fallen into the hands of the enemy. The loss of life had been great; not so many had perished on the field of battle, but disease, the deficiency of necessary comforts in hospitals, the want of clothes and of wholesome food, had as effectively done the work of death. Multitudes died miserably, either in the jails and loathsome prison-ships of the enemy, or contracted diseases which clung to them through life. These calamities, instead of depressing the patriots, roused their indignant spirits to more determination. They would listen to no terms of reconciliation with England, short of absolute independence.

Congress was embarrassed more and more. That noble spirit of conciliation and mutual forbearance which distinguished the members of the Old Congress was not so prominent. Many of the ablest members had retired to take part in the recently organized governments of their own States, or to attend to their private affairs, lest their families should come to want; and some had been sent on foreign missions, and some were in the army.

There were other difficulties; jealousies between northern and southern men still existed in the army, and jealousies between American officers and some of those of foreign birth. Congress, now numbering not more than twenty or thirty members, manifested an undue prejudice against the army, because the officers and soldiers earnestly urged that their wants should be supplied. Washington protested against this spirit, and showed the unreasonableness of such a prejudice. After remarking that in other countries the army was looked upon with suspicion in time of *peace*, he adds: "It is our policy to be prejudiced against them (the troops) in time

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

of *war*; though they are citizens, having all the ties and interests of citizens." In violation of military usage, and contrary to his advice, Congress made several promotions in the army which not only slighted but wronged some of its best and bravest officers.

While Washington labored at Valley Forge to keep the army together, and to prevent its disbanding from sheer necessity, a few were intriguing to remove him from the command. Some members of Congress, a few officers, and perhaps some others joined in what was known as the "Conway Cabal," a name derived from the Irish adventurer already mentioned, who, if not the prime mover in the plot, was a pliant tool of others. The whole truth on the subject can never be fully known, as each actor ever after desired to conceal the part he had taken in the affair. By means of anonymous letters, underhand appeals, designed to seduce the officers of the army, and other dishonorable measures, the attempt was made to defame Washington; to draw invidious comparisons between his military successes and those of Gates; and to destroy that confidence which the people and soldiers reposed in his integrity. They dared not attack him openly, but by these means they hoped to disgust him with his office and induce him to resign; and General Gates, their hero, would receive the appointment of Commander-in-chief. Thus the intrigue was carried on for months. General Mifflin and Gates himself were prominent in the scheme, but their efforts to win over Lafayette signally failed. Anonymous letters were sent to Henry Laurens, President of Congress, and to Patrick Henry, then Governor of Virginia; but these high-minded men forwarded them at once to the Commander-in-chief. Washington himself, though he knew to some extent of the existence of these plots, never publicly noticed them, nor turned aside a moment from his great work. He was only anxious lest the

enemy should learn of these dissensions. But when it was proposed in Congress to appoint Conway inspector of the army he remonstrated, and in writing to Richard Henry Lee, then a member, he says: "General Conway's merit as an officer and his importance in this army exist more in his own imagination than in reality." Yet Congress, under the influence of the Cabal, appointed Conway "Inspector of the Armies of the United States!" —with the rank of major-general. CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

Ere long intelligence of these intrigues stole abroad. So great was the indignation which burst forth from the officers and soldiers, from the Legislatures of the States, and from the people themselves, that the Cabal cowered before it.

The effect of this abortive attempt to remove Washington from the chief command was only to strengthen his hold on the confidence of the nation. The invidious comparisons made between his successes and those of Gates were unjust, but that some persons should be influenced by them is not strange. "The Washington of that day was not Washington as we know him, tried and proved by twenty years of the most disinterested and most successful public services." The capture of Burgoyne at Saratoga was due to his plan of defence, as concerted with Schuyler, and not to General Gates. In his effort to save Philadelphia he was surrounded with almost insurmountable difficulties. His army, ill-equipped and imperfectly disciplined, was smaller than that of Howe's; the scene of operation was in a region filled with Tories, who gave every facility to the British. He says himself: "Had the same spirit pervaded the people of this and the neighboring States, as the States of New York and New England, we might have had General Howe nearly in the same situation of General Burgoyne."

We may here anticipate. Conway found his position

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

unenviable, and he sent to Congress a note complaining that he had been ill-treated, and intimated that he would resign because he was ordered to the Northern Department. His self-complacency never doubted but he would be urged to remain as "Inspector." But Congress, ashamed of having ever appointed him, interpreted it as a resignation, and gladly accepted it. No explanation of Conway, though urged in person, could induce them to change their decision. Some time afterward he was wounded in a duel with General Cadwallader, who had charged him with cowardice at the battle of Germantown, and also of derogatory remarks in relation to the Commander-in-chief. When he thought himself near death, Conway wrote to Washington: "You are in my eyes the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues." He recovered from his wound, and soon after he left the country.

During the winter at Valley Forge every effort was made to increase the army and make it more efficient. To accomplish this end, Baron Steuben, a Prussian officer of great merit as a disciplinarian, was appointed Inspector, with the rank of major-general. Congress called upon all the States, except Georgia and South Carolina, for their quotas of men to the Continental army. These States were excused, except for local defence, in consideration of their large slave population. Several independent bodies of horse were raised by Count Pulaski and Henry Lee, who, because of his success and genius as a commander of light-horse, was known in the army as Light-Horse Harry.

Baron Steuben soon infused his own spirit into the officers and men. He was prompt, and they obeyed him with alacrity. The tactics were taught by system, and the result was very gratifying. Congress designed to raise

the army to sixty thousand, but it really never reached more than half that number. Many of the more experienced officers were compelled by necessity to resign; their families were dependent upon them, and they received scarcely any pay. These resignations were unfortunate. Washington appealed to Congress in behalf of the officers and also of the soldiers. That body promised half pay for seven years to those officers who should serve to the end of the war, and to the soldiers thus serving a gratuity of eighty dollars. But the treasury was empty; new bills of credit were issued, and the several States were called upon to levy taxes for the public expenses; but the States were poor, and some of them were negligent. Their bills of credit continued to lose their value; and, to increase the evil, the British and Tories flooded the country with counterfeits. The depreciation became so great that a pair of boots cost more than seven hundred dollars in some of these bills of credit. Yet it shows the patriotism of the great mass of the people that, at this time of despondency and distress, the British, with their promises of gold and protection, could induce only three thousand five hundred Tories to enlist in their army.

The office of quartermaster had been held during the last campaign by Mifflin; but he was seldom at his post, and the department was in great confusion. Many difficulties had grown out of this neglect; the army was irregularly supplied with provisions and forage, while the country people suffered much on account of the demands made upon them for provisions by unauthorized foraging parties. At the urgent request of Washington, Congress appointed General Greene quartermaster. He assumed the duties of the office, so irksome to him, for one year, but without compensation. The system with which Greene performed all his duties was soon apparent; the army was regularly furnished with provisions and ammu-

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

nition, so that it could be ready to march at a few minutes' notice.

April.

General Lee was returned to the army in exchange for General Prescott. Lee was as selfish as he was destitute of the true nobleness of a man of honor. In a document in his own handwriting, written when a prisoner in New York, dated "March 29, 1777," and endorsed by Lord and Sir William Howe as "Mr. Lee's plan," may be found the evidence of his willingness to ruin the cause of American Independence. In this elaborate plan he urged with great earnestness upon the British ministry to send a large force; part of which to take position at Alexandria, on the Potomac, and part at Annapolis, on the Chesapeake. Thus to separate the Northern and Southern colonies and prevent them from aiding each other, while to oppose Burgoyne's advance would require all the force that New England could raise. He was willing to forfeit his life if the measure did not speedily terminate the war and dissolve the "Congress Government."

For some reason the ministry did not adopt Lee's suggestion, and the document was filed away among British state papers, to bear testimony to the dishonesty of the author three-quarters of a century after his death.[1]

In the Spring, Sir William Howe, after complaining that his government did not furnish him a sufficiency of men and supplies, resigned his command, and Sir Henry Clinton was appointed his successor. With the exception of foraging parties, the British as yet made no military

May.

movements. About this time came intelligence of the passage of Lord North's conciliatory bills, and that the commissioners would soon be on their way to open negotiations. The substance of these bills was circulated very extensively by zealous Tories. Congress ordered them to

[1] "Treason of General Charles Lee," by George H. Moore, Esq.

be printed in the newspapers, accompanied by a severe criticism furnished by a committee of the House. CHAP. XXXIV.

Presently came the news that France had acknowledged the independence of the States, and had entered into a treaty with them of commerce and defence. The light had dawned upon the American cause! A thrill of joy went throughout the land. 1778. Jan. 30.

The treaty between the United States and France produced a great sensation in England. It is madness to protract the war! said the friends of America. Let us acknowledge the independence of the States and obtain their good will by liberal terms of commerce, lest our great rival win them to herself. But no! the idea was scouted; the war must be prosecuted, blood must still flow. May 5.

In June came the commissioners to treat under Lord North's conciliatory bills. They were the Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, brother of the late governor of Maryland, and George Johnstone, formerly governor of Florida, and who had been a friend of the Americans in Parliament.

The commissioners sent their proposals to Congress, but that body refused to treat until the independence of the States was acknowledged and the British troops withdrawn. As the commissioners could not grant these demands, negotiations were not commenced. Some of the commissioners indirectly resorted to bribery, and by means of a loyalist lady of Philadelphia, made propositions to General Joseph Reed, of ten thousand pounds and any office in the colonies he might choose if he would aid the object of the mission. To which offer he made this memorable reply: "I am not worth purchasing, but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to buy me."

When it was known that a French fleet was expected on the coast, the British hastened to evacuate Philadelphia and retreat to New York. Most of the stores, together with the sick and wounded, were sent round by June 18.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778. water, while the army, twelve thousand strong, took up its line of march across New Jersey. Washington was soon in pursuit. The weather was excessively warm, and the heavily armed British moved very slowly. The Americans soon came up. A council of war was held, and the question discussed, whether to attack the enemy and bring on a general engagement, or merely harass them on their march. Washington, with Greene and Lafayette, was in favor of the former manner of attack, and Lee, for some reason, strenuously advocated the latter. When it was decided to bring on a general engagement, Lee, as his advice had not been taken, declined to take any command in the affair.

Washington therefore sent Lafayette forward with two thousand men, to take position on the hills, and thus crowd Sir Henry Clinton off into the plain. The next morning Lee had changed his mind, and asked to be given a command. Washington sent him forward with two brigades, and when he came up with Lafayette, being of superior rank, he assumed the command of the entire advance division.

The British encamped near Monmouth Court-house. There were morasses and groves of woods in the vicinity, a difficult place in which to manœuvre troops.

June 28. When Lee advanced, he found a force of apparently about two thousand on the march, but a portion of the woods obstructed a full view. He made his arrangements to cut off this force, and sent word of his movements to Washington. But when he came upon the division, he found it much stronger than he anticipated—in truth, Clinton had thrown this strong force of German and British there for the express purpose of giving the Americans a severe check.

The battle had scarcely begun, before occurred a misapprehension of orders. The Americans began to retreat, and Lee, in the hurry of the moment, forgot to send word

of the movement to Washington, who was advancing with the main body to his support. The retreat had passed into almost a flight. When Washington met the troops he inquired why they were retreating. The reply was, they did not know, but they had received the order. Suspecting that this movement was designed to mar the plan of attack, he spurred on, and presently met Lee, of whom he demanded, in a stern manner: "What is the meaning of all this, sir?" Lee, disconcerted, hesitated for a moment to reply, and was asked again. He then began to explain that the confusion had arisen from disobedience of orders; and, moreover, he did not wish to meet the whole British army. Washington rejoined, "that he understood it was a mere covering party," adding: "I am very sorry that you undertook the command unless you meant to fight the enemy." Lee replied that he did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement. "Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington disdainfully, "I expect my orders to be obeyed." This conversation took but a moment.

Washington hastily formed the men on a rising ground. The enemy came up in force, and other divisions of the Americans also mingled in the conflict. Night ended the battle. The Americans slept upon their arms, expecting to renew the contest in the morning. But Clinton skilfully drew off his army during the night, and at daylight was far on his way. Washington did not attempt to pursue, as the weather was intolerably warm, and the march through a sandy region, destitute of water. The Americans lost altogether about two hundred, many of them on account of the extreme heat: the British about three hundred in the battle, and on the march two thousand Hessians deserted.

After refreshing his men, Washington marched across New Jersey, passed the Hudson, and took position at White Plains, to be ready to co-operate with the French

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

fleet in an attack upon New York. Lord Howe had scarcely left the Delaware when Count D'Estaing appeared with a squadron. While at sea, D'Estaing communicated with Washington by letter. Finding that the British had evacuated Philadelphia, he put to sea, and soon anchored off Sandy Hook.

The day after the battle, Lee wrote a note, disrespectful in its tone, to Washington, who replied; and this produced another note from Lee, still more offensive, demanding a court of inquiry, and in the mean time intimating that he should retire from the army. The court found him guilty of disobedience of orders and disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, and sentenced him to be suspended for one year from the army. He retired to his estate in Virginia, and there beguiled his leisure in writing scurrilous letters concerning the army and its commander. When his sentence of suspension was about to expire, he, for some fancied neglect, wrote an insolent letter to Congress. That body immediately dismissed him from the army. Thus ended the military career of General Charles Lee. A few years afterward he died in Philadelphia. His life had been that of the soldier; and in the delirium of death he murmured, "Stand by me, my brave grenadiers!"

The French fleet brought Monsieur Gerard as ambassador to the United States, and also Silas Deane, Doctor Franklin and Arthur Lee, with whom, on the part of the United States, the treaty had been made.

Howe ran his ships within the bay of New York, and as the large vessels of the French could not pass the bar at Sandy Hook, the combined attack upon the city was abandoned. Instead, it was resolved to make an attack upon Newport, on the island of Rhode Island. This was a British stronghold and depot, and garrisoned by six thousand men under General Pigot. The brutality of these British troops had excited against them the bitterest

hatred, and when called upon by General Sullivan, who was in command, thousands of the militia of the surrounding country flocked to avenge their wrongs. John Hancock, on this occasion, led the Massachusetts militia, as general. D'Estaing sailed to Newport, where he arrived a week before the force sent by Washington under Greene and Lafayette. This unavoidable delay ruined the enterprise. When the Americans appeared, the British guard left the works on the north end of the island and retired to their inner lines. The Americans immediately passed over and occupied the abandoned works. The very day of this occupancy, Lord Howe appeared with a fleet, and D'Estaing went out to give him battle. They both manœuvred their fleets to obtain the advantage of position, when a terrible storm arose and separated them.

1778. Aug. 9. 12.

In the mean time the Americans moved near the enemy's works, and commenced to cannonade them, expecting that the French fleet would soon return to their aid. D'Estaing did return, but instead of landing the four thousand troops on board, he set sail for Boston to refit his vessels, which the late storm had shattered.

20.

The Americans now abandoned their lines, and by night retreated, repulsing the division of the enemy sent in pursuit. It was time, for the British were strongly reinforced from New York by four thousand troops, under Clinton himself.

To deceive the enemy, and escape safely from the island, Sullivan sent a party to occupy a hill in sight of the British lines. The party began to throw up intrenchments, and in the evening pitched their tents; but as soon as it was night they silently decamped, and in the morning were all safely on the main land.

A great clamor arose because D'Estaing failed to cooperate with the Americans at Newport. Subsequent investigation seemed to justify him; at least, Congress passed a resolution approving his conduct. This may,

CHAP. XXXIV.

however, have been mere policy, as Congress was unwilling to offend the French by passing a vote of censure.

1778. The war degenerated into marauding expeditions against defenceless villages. The first object of this barbarity was the island of Martha's Vineyard, whose inhabitants were stripped of everything the robbers could carry off. The towns of New Bedford and Fair Haven

Sept. were wantonly burned, and also seventy vessels in their ports. Scenes of cruelty were enacted in New Jersey,

Oct. where an American regiment of horse was cut to pieces, and a company of infantry, when crying for quarter, was butchered with the bayonet without mercy.

When it was certainly known that a French fleet had sailed to the United States, the English ministry sent Admiral Byron in pursuit. He appeared off Boston harbor while the French were refitting, but did not dare attack them, and the French were unwilling to come out of their place of security. Lord Howe resigned his command into the hands of Admiral Byron. At length a storm arose which scattered the English fleet; then the French

Nov. 1. slipped out of the harbor, and sailed to the West Indies. On the same day, five thousand British troops sailed from New York for the same destination. Three weeks after, another expedition of three thousand sailed for Georgia; yet the British army remaining was far more numerous than the forces under Washington.

During the summer, one of the most atrocious outrages which disgraced the war was committed upon the settlement of Wyoming, situated in a beautiful valley on the Susquehanna. There had been previously much contention among the inhabitants, some of whom were Tories. These had been seized, and sent out of the settlement;

July. they took their revenge with more than savage ferocity.

After the defeat of St. Leger at Fort Schuyler, Fort Niagara became the headquarters of Tories and Indians;

at that place was planned the murderous expedition. The party was guided by Tories who had lived in the valley. The chief leader in this expedition was John Butler, a Tory notorious for his cruelty. His force, about eleven hundred, was composed of his Rangers, Johnson's Greens, and Mohawks. There were block-houses in the settlement; to these the people fled in times of danger. Nearly all the able-bodied men were absent in the army under Washington. There were left only the women and children, the aged and infirm. Suddenly the savage enemy appeared at various points in the valley, and commenced murdering the husbandmen in the fields, and burning the houses. It had been rumored that such an attack was meditated, and a small force had already been dispatched by Washington to defend the settlement. They had themselves, under Zebulon Butler (no relation of John Butler), about three hundred and fifty men. Unfortunately, Butler did not wait the arrival of the reinforcement, but sallied forth to restrain the ravaging of the country. Intelligence of this intended attack was conveyed to the enemy, and they were fully prepared. The fight began, and the Tories were forced to give way, but the Indians passed round a swamp toward the rear. Butler, seeing this movement, ordered his men to fall back, lest they should be surrounded. This order was mistaken for one to retreat; all was thrown into confusion, and a portion, panic-stricken, fled. They were pursued by the Tories and Indians with unrelenting fury. The whole valley was desolated. Those of the people who escaped, fled to the mountains, and there women and children perished by hundreds, while some, after incredible sufferings, reached the settlements. CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

A month later, similar scenes were witnessed at Cherry Valley, in New York. The Tories and Indians were equally as cruel as at the Wyoming massacre. The people were either murdered or carried into captivity. All Aug.

CHAP. XXXIV. 1778.

the region of the upper Susquehanna, the Delaware, and the Mohawk, was at the mercy of the savages.

In the latter part of November, Clinton sent Colonel Campbell, with two thousand men, to invade Georgia. He landed three miles below Savannah, the capital, on the twenty-ninth of December.

General Robert Howe, who was in command, could make but little resistance. He and his men behaved nobly, but a negro guiding the British by a path through a swamp, they gained the rear of the Americans, who were now thrown into confusion and defeated. The town of Savannah fell into the hands of the victors.

General Prevost, who commanded in East Florida, was ordered by Clinton to pass across to Savannah, and there join Campbell and assume the command. On his march, Prevost took Sunbury, a fort of some importance. Arriving at Savannah, he sent Campbell to take possession of Augusta. Thus was Georgia subdued, in the space of a few weeks. The British now transferred their active operations to the South, which became the principal theatre of the war till its close.

General Benjamin Lincoln, who had been appointed to take command of the Southern Department, arrived about this time. The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia had solicited his appointment.

CHAPTER XXXV.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Dissensions in Congress.—Expedition against the Indians.—The War in the South.—Augusta reoccupied.—Charleston threatened.—Marauding Expeditions sent to Virginia, and up the Hudson.—Tryon ravages Connecticut.—Capture of Stony Point by Wayne.—Lee surprises the Garrison at Jersey City.—Combined assault upon Savannah.—Daniel Boone; Kentucky.—George Rogers Clarke; Kaskaskia.—Pioneers of Tennessee; Nashville.—John Paul Jones.

1779.

THE American army was distributed, at the end of the year, in a series of cantonments, which extended from the east end of Long Island Sound to the Delaware; thus effectually enclosing the British forces. The head-quarters were in a central position at Middlebrook, New Jersey. The British were so strong at New York and Newport, that to attack them with success was hopeless. The French fleet had been of no practical use to the Americans, and now Count D'Estaing took with him his land troops to the West Indies.

Four years had passed since the war commenced; the finances of the country were still in a wretched condition. The enemy held important places, and were watching for opportunities to pillage. In the South, the Tories were specially active. Yet there were other elements at work, more injurious to the cause than even these.

Congress was filled with dissensions. The prospect

CHAP. XXXV.

of assistance from France caused many to relax their efforts, as though the war was virtually ended. Washington wrote, at the beginning of the year: "Our affairs are in a more distressed, ruinous, and deplorable condition than they have been since the commencement of the war." A large majority of Congress was carried away with the scheme of joining with the French in an expedition against Canada. But when the matter was laid before the Commander-in-chief, at a glance he saw the difficulties of the undertaking, and, with the comprehensive views of the true statesman, pointed out the disadvantages of having, on this continent, a power different in nation, in religion, and in customs from the Americans. Moreover, he desired the people of the United States to be as little under obligations as possible to other nations.

1779.

For the ensuing campaign, it was evident the British intended to confine themselves to pillaging expeditions, and to cripple the Union in the South. Washington now recommended an expedition against the Indians, to punish them for their outrages at Wyoming and other places. It was to be conducted on their own plan—to invade and lay waste their territory.

In April a body of troops suddenly invaded and desolated the territory of the Onondagas. The principal expedition, under Sullivan, went against the Senecas, to revenge their attack on Wyoming. With five thousand men he penetrated their country, met them under Brant, with their worthy allies, the Tories, Johnson and Butler, at Newtown, now Elmira and completely routed them. Without giving them time to recover from their panic, Sullivan pursued them into the valley of the Genesee, and in a few weeks destroyed more than forty of their villages, all their cornfields, gardens, and orchards. It was a terrible vengeance; but the only means to prevent their depredations on the settlements.

Aug. 29.

Want of food compelled the Indians and Tories to emigrate to Canada, yet they soon after renewed their depredations, and continued them, with their usual ferocity, till the end of the war. In the meanwhile, another successful expedition was conducted against the Indian towns on the Alleghany, above Pittsburg. 1779.

As in the North, so in the South, the British entered into alliances with the Indians—there they induced the Creeks to join them. The Tories desolated the upper part of Georgia; but as they drew near Augusta, Colonel Pickens suddenly attacked and routed them. Seventy-five were made prisoners and condemned to death, as traitors; however, only five were executed. Feb.

The next month, General Lincoln sent General Ashe, with two thousand men, to drive Campbell from Augusta. Campbell, hearing of his approach, retreated in haste, and Ashe pursued, but was himself surprised, some days after, and his entire force dispersed. The British now reoccupied Augusta, and opened a communication with the Cherokees and the South Carolina Tories.

While Lincoln recruited his army, Prevost marched slowly in the direction of Charleston; and Lincoln hastened to the aid of that city. The inhabitants were indefatigable in their exertions to give the foe a warm reception. They threw up intrenchments across the neck of the peninsula, on which their city stood. Presently, Prevost arrived and summoned them to surrender, but they boldly refused. May.

He prepared to enter upon a regular siege, but hearing of the approach of Lincoln, he first ravaged the plantations in the vicinity, carried off an immense amount of plunder, and three or four thousand slaves, and then retreated toward Savannah, by way of the islands along the coast. As the hot season approached, hostilities ceased. June.

While these events were in progress in the South, Clinton was fulfilling his instructions from the ministry

CHAP. XXXV.

to send out plundering expeditions. One of these, under General Mathews, he sent from New York, with twenty-five hundred men, into Virginia. The fleet entered the Chesapeake, the troops landed, and plundered the towns of Portsmouth and Norfolk. A little higher up, at Gosport, was established a navy-yard by the State; there they burned one hundred and thirty merchant ships, and several war-vessels on the stocks. The facilities afforded the enemy by the rivers to pass from point to point, and the danger of the slaves rising, prevented much resistance.

1779. May 8.

When these soldiers returned, Clinton went up the Hudson, against the posts Verplanck's and Stony Points. These forts protected King's Ferry, a very important crossing-place, on the main road from the eastern to the middle States. The works at Stony Point—not yet finished—were abandoned; and the garrison at Verplanck's Point were forced to surrender.

The next expedition, of twenty-five hundred men, was under Tryon, whose barbarities, on such occasions, have justly rendered his name infamous. Tryon plundered New Haven, and burned Fairfield and Norwalk. In the course of a few days he burned two hundred and twenty-five private dwellings, half as many barns and stores, and five places of worship. Many of the inhabitants were murdered or subjected to the brutal passions of the soldiers. This "journeyman of desolation," so insensible to the promptings of humanity, contemplated these outrages with pleasure, and afterward even claimed for himself the honor of having exercised mercy, because he did not burn every dwelling on the coast of New England.

July 4.

Clinton had been grossly deceived by the Tories, who assured him that the principal inhabitants of Connecticut were so much dissatisfied because their homes were not protected by the American army, that they were about to withdraw from the cause, and put themselves under Brit-

ish protection. And it was thought a few more such expeditions would accomplish this result. CHAP. XXXV.

Washington now devised a plan to recapture Stony Point. The fort was so situated, that to surprise it seemed an impossibility. He proposed to General Wayne—"Mad Anthony"—to undertake the desperate enterprise. The proposal was accepted with delight. Washington himself, accompanied by Wayne, carefully reconnoitred the Point. The attempt was to be made at the hour of midnight. Every precaution to secure success was taken, even the dogs of the neighborhood were privately destroyed. A negro, who was in the habit of visiting the fort to sell fruit, and also as a spy for the Americans, was to act as guide. 1779. July 16.

The men, with fixed bayonets, and, to remove the possibility of discovery, with unloaded muskets, approached in two divisions, at the appointed hour. The negro, accompanied by two soldiers, disguised as farmers, approached the outer sentinel and gave the countersign. The sentinel was seized and gagged, and the second treated in the same manner; at the third, the alarm was given, but the impetuosity of the Americans was so great, that in a few minutes the two divisions from the opposite sides of the fort met in the centre. They took more than five hundred prisoners. This was one of the most brilliant exploits of the war. How great was the contrast between the humanity of Wayne and the savage cruelty of the British in their midnight attacks with the bayonet! Stedman, the British historian, records that "the conduct of the Americans upon this occasion was highly meritorious, for they would have been fully justified in putting the garrison to the sword; not one man of which was put to death but in fair combat." When Clinton heard of the taking of Stony Point, he hastily recalled Tryon, who was about to move against New London.

The exploit of Wayne was speedily followed by another

CHAP. XXXV. 1779. daring adventure by Light Horse Harry. He had learned by reconnoitring, and by means of spies, the exact condition of the garrison at Paulus Hook, now Jersey City, opposite New York. Thinking themselves secure from attack, because of their nearness to the main army, the officers, as well as men, were careless. Lee asked permission to strike a blow within "cannon-shot of New York." Aug. 18. Washington directed him "to surprise the fort, bring off the garrison immediately, and effect a retreat," and not to linger, lest he should himself be overpowered. About two o'clock in the morning they made themselves masters of the fort, and secured one hundred and fifty prisoners, with a loss to themselves of only two men. Soon alarm guns roused the garrison in New York, and Lee Commenced his retreat. The exploit redounded much to his credit, and that of his company of horse. In compliment, Congress voted Wayne, as well as Lee, a gold medal.

An effort was again made to take Savannah. Count D'Estaing appeared with his fleet from the West Indies, and General Lincoln marched to aid in the siege. Several North Carolina regiments had been sent by the Commander-in-chief, and the militia turned out well. Prevost made every exertion to defend himself. But D'Estaing soon grew impatient; he must return to the West Indies lest the British fleet might accomplish some enterprise of importance. The siege must be either abandoned, or the Oct. 9. town taken by assault. The latter was resolved upon; and it was undertaken with great disadvantages staring the assailants in the face. After they had carried some of the outworks, the Americans were forced to retire. Count Pulaski, when gallantly leading his men, was mortally wounded. The French, who were at the post of the greatest danger, were also repulsed, and D'Estaing himself was wounded. Lincoln now retreated to Charleston, disbanded the militia, and the Count sailed to the West Indies. Thus, for the second time, the French, under the

same officer, failed to co-operate efficiently with the Americans. Very great dissatisfaction was excited at this throughout the country. CHAP. XXXV. 1779.

Clinton obeyed his instructions from home, evacuated Newport, and concentrated his main force at New York, which place he thought in danger of a combined attack from the Americans and French. In truth, Washington, in expectation of such aid, had called out the militia for that purpose, but when he heard that the French had sailed for the West Indies, he dismissed them, and went into winter-quarters near Morristown, New Jersey. Oct. 25.

When the coast was clear, Clinton sent seven thousand men by sea to Savannah, and soon after sailed himself with two thousand more, leaving a powerful garrison in New York, under the command of Knyphausen. Dec. 29.

Some years before the commencement of the war, Daniel Boone, the bold hunter and pioneer, had visited the region of Kentucky. Attracted by the fertility of the soil, the beauty of the forests, and the mildness of the climate, in connection with others he formed a settlement on the Kentucky river. Thither Boone took his wife and daughters, the first white women in that region. There, 1773. during the war, these bold pioneers were in perils, fighting the Indians and levelling the forests. Harrod, another bold backwoodsman, founded Harrodsburg. The territory on the lower Kentucky had been purchased of the Cherokees. Though Dunmore, the governor of Virginia, denounced the purchase as illegal, yet in spite of his proclamation, and the hostility of the Indians, the people, in numbers, emigrated to that delightful region.

The Indians at the West were becoming hostile under the influence of British emissaries. The principal actor in this was Hamilton, the commandant at Detroit, against which place Congress resolved to send an expedition.

CHAP. XXXV.

1779. While this was under consideration, George Rogers Clarke, an adventurous Virginian, set out from Pittsburg on an expedition against Kaskaskia, an old French town on the Mississippi. Clarke, though a backwoodsman of Kentucky, acted under the authority of Virginia. With two hundred men he floated in boats down the Ohio to the Falls, and there, on an island, thirteen families, his followers, made a settlement. Joined by some Kentuckians, he proceeded down the river, to near its mouth. Then hiding his canoes, the company struck through the woods to Kaskaskia. This town was claimed by the English since the surrender of Canada. The inhabitants were at once conciliated when they heard of the alliance between the United States and France, and when they saw their religion respected and their property protected. Clarke also entered into friendly relations with the Spaniards west of the Mississippi at St. Louis. When he returned to the Falls, he built a stockade fort on the south side of the Ohio; this was the germ of the present city of Louisville. Virginia claimed the region north of the Ohio, as conquered territory, erected it into the county of Illinois, and made arrangements to keep possession of it.

1778. July.

Other bold pioneers were, about the same time, penetrating the wilderness further south. James Robertson, from North Carolina, who, eleven years before, led emigrants to settle on the head-waters of the Tennessee, now, with a company, crossed over into the valley of the Cumberland. They passed down that river till they found a desirable location, a bluff on its south shore. The company altogether amounted to nearly fifty persons. There, in the midst of the primeval forest, more than a hundred miles from the nearest settlement, they cleared some land and planted corn. Three of their number remained to guard the growing crop, and the others returned to bring their families. Emigration now began: one party set out through the wilderness, driving their cattle before them;

May.

another, with the women and children, went on board of boats, on the head-waters of the Tennessee. They were to pass down that river to its mouth, thence find their way up the Cumberland to the chosen spot. A laborious journey of more than six months brought them to their anxious friends. The settlement increased with great rapidity, notwithstanding the hostility of the Indians. Such were the beginnings of the now prosperous and beautiful city of NASHVILLE. CHAP. XXXV. 1779.

Congress, from time to time, made efforts to increase the Continental navy, but many of the vessels had been lost. The privateers had aroused the ire and the vigilance of the entire British navy. Yet some American cruisers, fitted out in France, fearlessly sailed in quest of the enemy. The most distinguished of these commanders was John Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, but who had been brought to Virginia in childhood. He was one of the first officers commissioned by Congress for the navy. Jones, in command of the Ranger, of eighteen guns, spread terror around England, and even made a descent on the coast of Scotland.

A small squadron of five French and American ships was fitted out at Lorient, and placed under his command, to cruise in the British seas. Off the coast of Scotland, he met with a fleet of merchantmen, convoyed by a frigate and another armed vessel. It was night, and the battle, the most desperate in the annals of naval warfare, lasted three hours. Jones lashed his flag-ship, the Richard, to the British frigate Serapis, and thus, muzzle to muzzle, they poured into each other their broadsides. At length, both the English ships surrendered. Jones' flag-ship was so damaged, that in a few hours it went to the bottom. Sept. 23.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

Hardships of the Soldiers.—British Success at the South.—Colonel Tarleton.—Charleston capitulates.—Defeat at Waxhaw.—Rev. James Caldwell.—Maraud into Jersey.—Fleet at Newport.—The South unsubdued; her partisan Leaders.—Gates sent to take Command.—Disastrous Battle of Camden.—Death of De Kalb.—Sumter's Success and Defeat.—Treason of Arnold.—Major André.—Movements of Cornwallis.—Colonel Ferguson.—Battle of King's Mountain.—Tarleton repulsed.—General Greene in Command.—Rancorous Spirit between the Whigs and Tories.—British triumphant.—Affairs in Europe.—Henry Laurens.—Dangers of England; her Energy.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1780.

THIS winter, like the preceding, witnessed the hardships of the soldiers, who were often in great straits for provisions, and other necessaries. The depreciation of the currency continued; Congress was in debt, without money and without credit. To preserve the soldiers from starvation, Washington was under, to him, the painful necessity of levying contributions upon the people of the surrounding country. Jersey was drained almost to exhaustion; but her patriotism rose in proportion to her sacrifices; at one time, when deep snows cut off supplies from a distance, the subsistence of the whole army devolved upon her. "The women met together to knit and sew for the soldiery," and the farmers hastened to the camp with provisions, "stockings, shoes, coats, and blankets."

May.

A committee sent by Congress to inquire into the condition of affairs at Morristown, reported: "That the army was five months unpaid; that it seldom had more than

six days' provisions in advance, and was, on several occasions, for sundry successive days, without meat; was destitute of forage; that the medical department had neither sugar, tea, chocolate, wine, nor spirits." No other principle than true patriotism could have held men together in the midst of privations and sufferings such as these. In preparation for the ensuing campaign, Congress made great exertions to increase the army; large bounties were offered, yet recruits came in slowly. CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

The winter was exceedingly severe. The waters around New York were frozen, communication with the sea was cut off, so that the garrison and the citizens suffered for provisions. Knyphausen was alarmed lest the Americans should pass on the ice and attack the city; his ships of war were frozen fast, and no longer useful to defend it. He transferred the seamen to the shore, and formed them into companies, and placed the entire male population under arms. But his apprehensions were groundless, as Washington was too deficient in men and means to make a successful attack upon the garrison.

In the South, the British were very successful. When Clinton arrived at Savannah, he immediately went North for the purpose of blockading Charleston. General Lincoln made every exertion to fortify the city. Four thousand of its militia enrolled themselves; but the assistance received from the surrounding country numbered only two hundred men. South Carolina had represented to Congress her utter inability to defend herself, "by reason of the great number of citizens necessary to remain at home to prevent insurrection among the negroes, and their desertion to the enemy." The only hope of Charleston lay in the regiments then on their march from Virginia and North Carolina. These regiments increased Jan.

CHAP. XXXVI. Lincoln's force to seven thousand, only two thousand of whom were continentals.

1780. Feb. The British occupied so much time in their approach, that an opportunity was given to fortify the harbor and city. It was of no avail; the superior English fleet passed by Fort Moultrie without receiving much damage, though four years before the same fort had repulsed a similar attempt. The channel, at this time, was deeper, and the vessels could pass.

Sir Henry Clinton had lost nearly all his horses on the voyage; but he had with him Lieutenant-colonel Banastre Tarleton, a native of Liverpool. Let us take a glance at the colonel, who figures so largely in these southern campaigns. He was at this time only twenty-six years of age. He is described as short of stature, broad shouldered and muscular, of swarthy complexion, with a countenance lighted up by small, keen black eyes, the embodiment ofar dent, prompt energy, and indomitable perseverance, that never pursued without overtaking; always in front of his men; as insensible to weariness as he was to fear. To be scrupulous was not one of his virtues. He soon, from friends or enemies, by money or by force, obtained horses for his dragoons.

April 14. Thirty miles from Charleston, at Monk's Corner, General Huger and Colonel William Washington had two regiments of continental cavalry to guard the passes to the north country. On a dark night, Tarleton, guided by a negro, pounced upon them with his dragoons, and scattered them. Huger and Washington escaped, with some of their officers and men, but Tarleton took a hundred prisoners, and four hundred wagons laden with stores. Fort Moultrie surrendered, and soon after another division of American cavalry was almost annihilated by Tarleton, and Charleston was now completely invested.

As the defences of the town continued to fail in succession, Lincoln thought to abandon the place, and force

his way through the enemy; but the superiority of the besiegers in number and position rendered that impossible. The British fleet was ready to pour ruin upon the devoted town. Clinton had thrown up intrenchments across the neck, and at this crisis Cornwallis arrived from New York with three thousand fresh troops. CHAP. XXXVI. 1780. April 18.

On the ninth of May commenced a terrible cannonade from two hundred cannons. All night long bombshells poured upon the town, which at one time was on fire in five different places. The morning dawned, but no hope dawned for the besieged. Their guns were nearly all dismounted, their works in ruins, the soldiers exhausted by fatigue. The fleet moved to a position much nearer. The following night an offer to capitulate was sent to Clinton. Negotiations commenced, which resulted in the surrender of the garrison as prisoners of war; the militia were to be dismissed on their parole, not to engage again in the war; with the promise, that so long as they kept their parole, their persons and property should be secure. The whole number of prisoners was about six thousand. May 12.

This was an irreparable loss to the patriots. Immediately after Clinton sent off three expeditions; one to intercept Colonel Beaufort, who was approaching with a Virginia regiment to the aid of Charleston; a second toward Augusta, and the third toward Camden. He also issued a proclamation, threatening terrible punishments on those who would not submit. This was soon after followed by another, which offered pardon to all those who would return to their allegiance, and assist in restoring the royal authority.

When Beaufort heard of the loss of Charleston he commenced to retreat; but there was no escaping Tarleton, who made a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours. He surprised Beaufort at Waxhaw, on the boundary of North Carolina, and scattered his men, giving them no quarter, but treating them in the

CHAP. XXXVI.

most cruel and barbarous manner. This act has left a stain upon his reputation.

1780.

The other detachments passed through the country, meeting with no resistance, as the people felt it would be useless to attack them. In a short time another proclamation was issued, calling upon all, except those actually taken in arms, to renounce their parole, and take the oath of allegiance. During this time, the negroes in great numbers deserted their masters and fled to the British.

June.

South Carolina thus conquered, Clinton returned to New York, leaving Cornwallis to hold the country in subjection.

Incidents show the spirit of the times. The Rev. James Caldwell, a Presbyterian clergyman, was pastor of a church at Elizabethtown. He had excited the ire of the Tories and British by his ardent appeals in the cause of his country. When he preached he would lay his pistols beside him: his eloquence stirred the people, with whom his popularity was unbounded. His church, a sort of rallying point, had been used by the American soldiers as a shelter, while its bell gave the alarm when the enemy approached. The Tories called him a "frantic priest," and "rebel firebrand;" but the people spoke of him as "a rousing gospel preacher." During the winter a marauding company of the British and Tories from New York burned the church, and Caldwell removed his family to Connecticut Farms.

June 5.

After Knyphausen heard of the capture of Charleston, thinking that event would have an influence upon the people of Jersey, he set out on an expedition, landing at Elizabethtown, and penetrated as far as Connecticut Farms. He met, at every step, with the most determined opposition; but, nevertheless, the village was sacked and burned. Mrs. Caldwell, in the midst of the terror and confusion, retired to a room in the rear of the parsonage, and knelt in prayer, having by the hand one of her chil-

dren. Presently some one fired through the window, and she fell dead, pierced by two balls. The church and parsonage were both burned. Knyphausen, harassed by the militia, made an inglorious retreat. CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

Meantime, the atrocious murder of Mrs. Caldwell roused a spirit of revenge, unprecedented in its influence. She was highly connected and universally beloved; the murder was thought to have been designed. Caldwell preached more "rousing" sermons than ever. Three weeks later, Washington moved some of his forces toward the Highlands, and Knyphausen once more landed in Jersey, and pushed on toward Springfield, hoping to gain the passes beyond Morristown; but alarm-guns spread the news of his approach, and General Greene, who had been left in command, was on the alert. Knyphausen found as much opposition as on the other occasion. The Jersey regiment, commanded by Dayton, and of which Caldwell was chaplain, was engaged in the battle. The soldiers were in want of wadding, and the chaplain galloped to the Presbyterian church and brought a quantity of Watts' psalm and hymn books and distributed them for the purpose among the soldiers. "Now," cried he, "put Watts into them, boys!"[1] The Americans increasing, Knyphausen, after burning the village of Springfield, effected another inglorious retreat.

The Baron De Kalb was sent, soon after the surrender of Lincoln, to take command of the army South, and all the Continental troops south of Pennsylvania were detached for that service. In the midst of these discouragements, Lafayette returned from his visit to France. He brought intelligence that a French fleet, with an army on board, had sailed to America, and also there might be March.

[1] Washington Irving.

CHAP. XXXVI.

expected soon a supply of arms and clothing from the same source.

1780. May.

The several States were now urged to send forward their quotas of men and provisions, to enable the army to co-operate with the French. In the camp there was almost a famine; a Connecticut regiment was on the point of marching home, where they could obtain provisions. Congress was laboring to borrow money in Holland in order to supply these wants.

July.

A French fleet, consisting of seven ships of the line, and also frigates and transports, at length appeared at Newport. This was the first division, consisting of six thousand land troops. To avoid disputes that might arise from military etiquette, Count Rochambeau, their commander, was instructed to put himself under the command of Washington. The expected supplies of arms and clothing did not arrive, and for the want of them, the American army could not co-operate in an attack upon New York.

The French fleet was followed by one from England, of equal strength, and now Clinton, trusting to his superior naval force, made preparations to attack the French at Newport; but as he and Admiral Arbuthnot could not agree as to the plan, the project was abandoned. The British, instead, blockaded the French. News came, not long after, that the second division designed for the United States was blockaded at Brest by another British squadron. Thus, for the third time, the Americans were disappointed in their hopes of aid from the French fleet, and instead, the militia of New England was called out to defend it at Newport.

In the South was the quietness that reigns in a conquered country; but the unsubdued spirit of the patriots was soon aroused by their partisan leaders,—Sumter, Clarke, Pickens and Francis Marion, the latter a Huguenot by descent, and who had served against the Cherokees

at the close of the French war. These leaders, with their bands, generally horsemen, scoured the country, and improved every opportunity to make a dash at parties of British or Tories. At first they were almost destitute of arms; these their ingenuity partially supplied by converting scythes and knives fastened to poles into lances; wood saws into broadswords, while the women cheerfully gave their pewter dishes to be melted into bullets; from nitre found in caverns in the mountains, and charcoal burned upon their hearths, they made their powder. So effectually did they conduct this irregular warfare, that ere long foraging parties of the enemy dared not venture far from the main army. If these patriots were repulsed in one place, they would suddenly appear in another, as vigorous as ever. While Sumter—characterized by Cornwallis as the South Carolina "Game Cock"—with his band, was on the Catawba, Marion—known as the "Swamp Fox"—was issuing, "with his ragged followers," from the swamps along the Lower Peedee.

Congress now resolved to send General Gates to take command of the southern army. Great expectations were raised when it was known that the conqueror of Burgoyne was about to assume the command. But General Charles Lee remarked, "That his northern laurels would soon be changed into southern willows."

De Kalb, with the regiments under his command, retarded by want of provisions, moved slowly south. His soldiers could only by great exertion obtain their necessary supplies in the barren region through which they passed. Because of this want, he was forced to halt three weeks on Deep River, one of the upper tributaries of Cape Fear River; there Gates overtook him, and assumed the command. Contrary to the advice of De Kalb and his officers, who recommended a circuitous route through the fertile and friendly county of Mecklenburg, Gates imme-

CHAP. XXXVI. 1780. diately gave orders to march direct on Camden. He said the wagons coming from the north, and laden with provisions, would overtake them in two days. They marched through a region of pine barrens interspersed with swamps, and almost destitute of inhabitants. Their only food was green corn, unripe apples and peaches, and such lean wild cattle as chance threw in their way. The wagons never overtook them, but disease did, and the suffering soldiers were greatly enfeebled. After a toilsome march of nearly three weeks, he encamped at Clermont, about twelve miles from Camden. His army had increased almost daily, principally from North Carolina and Virginia, and now numbered nearly four thousand, of whom two-thirds were Continentals.

Aug. 13.

Lord Rawdon, when he heard of the approach of Gates, retreated and concentrated his forces at Camden, at which place Cornwallis had just arrived from Charleston to take command.

Gates made a move the following night to take a position nearer Camden, and Cornwallis made a similar move to surprise Gates. The advance guards met in the woods; after some skirmishing, both armies halted till morning. With the dawn, the battle commenced. The British rushed on with fixed bayonets against the centre of the American army, where the militia were posted; they fled immediately, throwing down their arms lest they should be encumbered in their headlong flight. Gates himself and Governor Caswell were both carried off the field by the torrent of fugitives. The Continentals stood their ground firmly, until their brave commander, De Kalb, who had received eleven wounds, fell exhausted—then they also gave way.

Aug. 16.

The American army was completely routed, scattered in small parties, and in all directions. Their loss, in slain and prisoners, was nearly eighteen hundred, besides all their baggage and artillery. The road was strewed with

the dead and wounded, the work of the British cavalry, which the impetuous Tarleton urged on in pursuit of the fugitives for twenty-eight miles.

Certain of victory, Gates imprudently made no arrangements for a retreat, or the preservation of his stores, but instead, he met with the most disastrous defeat ever experienced by an American army. Truly, his northern laurels had degenerated into southern willows! A few days after the battle, he arrived with about two hundred followers at Charlotte, in North Carolina.

De Kalb was found by the British on the field still alive; his aide-de-camp, De Buysson, would not leave him, but generously suffered himself to be taken prisoner. The Baron lingered for a few days. His last moments were employed in dictating a letter to the officers and men of his division, expressing for them his warmest affection.

Some days before the late battle, Sumter fell upon a convoy of supplies approaching Camden for the British, and took two hundred prisoners. When Cornwallis heard of it, he sent Tarleton in pursuit, who rode so hard that half his men and horses broke down. When he arrived on the Catawba, Sumter had reason to think himself beyond pursuit, and halted to refresh his men, when he was completely taken by surprise, his company routed, and his prisoners rescued. Thus, within three months, two American armies had been defeated and scattered in every direction.

Gates continued to retreat toward the North, having now about a thousand men. Maryland and Virginia made great exertions to recruit the army, but with little success.

Cornwallis, instead of conciliating the people by clemency, excited them to intense hostility by cruelty. Of the prisoners taken at Sumter's defeat, there were some who had given their parole not to engage in the war; a portion of these were hanged upon the spot. There was

CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

more revenge and hatred exhibited in the South by the Whigs and Tories against each other, than in any other section of the States. The severity of Cornwallis, however, did not deter the patriots from action. Marion was still in the field, and the untiring Sumter soon collected another force, with which he harassed the enemy.

Washington wished to strike a decisive blow, and he invited Rochambeau, who was commanding the French troops at Newport, to meet him at Hartford, to devise a plan of attack upon New York. After consultation, it was found that the French naval force was insufficient to cope with the British fleet at New York. Accordingly, the French Admiral on the West India station was invited to co-operate; and, until he could be heard from, the enterprise was postponed.

While Washington was thus absent from headquarters, a nefarious plot, which had been in train for some months, came to light. One of the bravest officers of the American army was about to tarnish his fair name as a patriot, and bring upon it the scorn and contempt of all honorable men. It was discovered that Arnold had promised to betray into the hands of the enemy the important fortress of West Point. The wounds he had received at the battle of Behmus's Heights had unfitted him for active service, and he was placed in command at Philadelphia. There he lived in a very extravagant style; involved himself in debts, to pay which he engaged in privateering and mercantile speculations, most of which were unsuccessful. He was accused of using the public funds, and condemned by a court-martial to receive a reprimand from the Commander-in-chief, who performed the unpleasant duty as delicately as possible. Yet Arnold felt the disgrace, and determined to be revenged. While in Philadelphia he married into a Tory family, which opened a way to an intercourse with British officers. His

merits as an officer were great, but Congress evidently took into consideration his private character. The members from Connecticut knew him well. He was proverbially dishonest in his dealings, disregarded the rights of others, indifferent as to what men thought of his integrity, and to those under him cruel and tyrannical. In consequence of these inexcusable faults many distrusted him. The question has been raised, Why did Washington trust Arnold? Evidently, because he knew him only as an efficient and brave officer. It is not probable any person took the liberty of whispering to the Commander-in-chief the defects of Arnold's private character. We know that during his whole life, Washington was governed by the principle of appointing to office none but honest men. 1780.

In the midst of his troubles, Arnold's selfishness became superior to his patriotism, and he opened a correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, under the signature of Gustavus. For months this continued, when he made himself known. In the meantime, he applied to Washington and obtained the command of West Point, with the full intention of betraying that important post. Aug. 3.

In the British army was a young man of pleasing address; accomplished in mental acquirements, and as amiable as he was brave. Disappointed in love, he had joined the army and made fame the object of his ambition; as capable of planning the amusements for a ball or a masquerade as of fulfilling the duties of his office—that of adjutant-general. He won many friends, and with Sir Henry Clinton was a special favorite. It devolved upon this young man, Major John Andre, to answer the letters of "Gustavus." This he did under the feigned name of "John Anderson." When Arnold revealed his true character, Andre volunteered to go up the Hudson on board the sloop-of-war Vulture, to have an interview with him, and make the final arrangements for carrying out the treachery.

CHAP. XXXVI.

1780. Sept. 21. The Vulture came to anchor a short distance below the American lines. Thence a flag was sent to Arnold, giving him the information. In the evening the latter sent a boat to bring Andre ashore. The night passed, however, before their plans were arranged, and Andre was compelled, though very unwillingly, to pass the next day within the American lines. During the day the Vulture attracted the attention of some American gunners, who began to fire upon her, and she dropped down the stream. For some unexplained reason, the man who had brought Andre ashore refused to take him back to the sloop, and he was forced to return to New York by land. He changed his uniform for a citizen's dress, and with a pass from Arnold, under the name of John Anderson, set out. Passing to the east side of the river, he travelled on unmolested until he came in the vicinity of Tarrytown. There he was arrested by three young men, John Paulding, David Williams, and Isaac Van Wart. They asked him some questions, and he, supposing them Tories, did not produce his pass, but said he was "from below," meaning New York, and that he was a British officer, travelling on important business. When he found his mistake, he offered them his watch, his purse, and any amount of money, if they would let him pass. Their patriotism was not to be seduced. Paulding declared that if he would give ten thousand guineas he should not stir a step. In searching his person, they found in his boots papers of a

Sept. 23. suspicious character. They brought him to Colonel Jamison, the commanding officer on the lines at Peekskill. He recognized the handwriting as that of Arnold. The paper contained a description of West Point, and an account of its garrison. But he could not believe that his superior officer was guilty of treason, and had it not been for the protests of Major Talmadge, the second in command, he would have sent the prisoner to Arnold; as it was, he sent him a letter giving an account of the arrest, and of

the papers found upon his person. The papers he sent by express to Washington, now on his way from Hartford. CHAP. XXXVI.

The letter came to Arnold while he was breakfasting with some officers, who had just returned from that place. Concealing his emotions, he rose from the table, called his wife out of the room, briefly told her he was a ruined man and must flee for his life. She fell insensible at his feet. He directed the messenger to attend to her, returned to the breakfast-room, excused himself on the plea that he must hasten to the fort to receive the Commander-in-chief. Then seizing the messenger's horse, which stood ready saddled, he rode with all speed to the river, sprang into his boat, and ordered the men to row to the Vulture. Thence he wrote to Washington, begging him to protect his wife, who, he protested, was innocent of any participation in what he had done. 1780.

When Andre heard that Arnold was safe, he wrote to Washington, confessing the whole affair. He was immediately brought to trial under the charge of being within the American lines, as a spy. Though cautioned to say nothing to criminate himself, he confessed the whole, and on his own confession he was found guilty. The commission to try him was presided over by General Greene. Lafayette and Steuben were also members of it. Andre protested that he had been induced to enter the American lines by the misrepresentations of Arnold. Clinton made every effort to save his favorite. The amiableness of Andre's private character enlisted much sympathy in his behalf. And Washington wished, if possible, to spare him; but a higher duty forbid it. Inexorable martial law denied him his last request, that he might be shot as a soldier, and not hanged as a spy. Sept. 29.

Cornwallis at length commenced his march toward North Carolina. His army was in three divisions; one of which, under Colonel Patrick Ferguson, was to move Oct. 2. Sept.

CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

to the west near the mountains, to intimidate the Whigs, and enroll the numerous Tories said to be in that region. The cavalry, and a portion of the light troops, under Tarleton, were to move up the Catawba, while the main body, under Cornwallis himself, was to take the route by way of Charlotte, Salisbury, and Hillsborough, through the region in which the Whigs were very numerous. This was with the expectation of forming a juncture with troops sent to the lower Chesapeake from New York. As soon as the British army began its march, the Whigs sprang into activity, and harassed them; scarcely did an express sent from any division of the army escape being shot or taken. Cornwallis declared Charlotte "the hornet's nest of North Carolina."

Ferguson, the son of a Scotch judge of eminence, had entered the army from the love of military life, had seen service in Germany, and was deemed by Cornwallis an excellent officer. He excelled in the use of the rifle, and in training others to the use of that weapon. He was generous and humane; in any enterprise persevering and cool. Over his company of light-infantry regulars he had control, and restrained them from deeds of violence; but he was joined by a rabble of desperadoes and rancorous Tories. As they passed through the country, these Tories committed outrages upon the inhabitants. He met with scarcely any opposition. But information of these outrages and of his approach had spread rapidly throughout the region. Little did Ferguson think that at this time, when he neither saw nor heard of an enemy—for all his expresses were cut off—that from the distant hills and valleys of the Clinch and the Holston, and from the eastern spurs of the mountains, companies of mounted backwoodsmen—their only baggage a knapsack and blanket, their only weapon a rifle—were passing silently through the forests to a place of rendezvous in his front. The most formidable of these were from Tennessee and Ken-

tucky, under Colonels Sevier and Shelby,—afterward first governors of those States. CHAP. XXXVI.

1780.

Rumors stole into his camp that these half-farmers and graziers and half-hunters were assembling; but he scouted the idea that they could oppose him; though, when he received more correct information, he began to retreat as rapidly as possible. He had not been long on his way when this motley host, three thousand strong, came together. They held a council; they were not to be baffled; about nine hundred mounted their fleetest horses and started in pursuit. They rode for thirty-six hours, part of the time through a drenching rain, dismounting but once. Ferguson was astonished at their perseverance. He pushed for a strong position on King's Mountain, near the Catawba. This mountain rises almost like a cone; its top was sparsely covered with tall forest trees, while at the base they were more dense. On the level space on the top he arranged his men, saying, with an oath, that the "rebels" could not drive him from his position.

Oct. 9.

The backwoodsmen approached, reconnoitred, held a council, then dismounted to attack the enemy in three divisions—in front, and on the right and left flanks. The battle soon commenced, the Americans crept up the sides of the mountain, and with deliberate aim poured in their deadly bullets. Ferguson, on a white charger, rode round and round the crest of the hill, and cheered his men. No impression was made on the assailants. He ordered the regulars to charge bayonet, and they drove the left division down the side of the mountain—for the backwoodsmen had no bayonets. Presently the regulars were taken in flank, and they retreated to the top, where, by this time, the second division had clambered up. This they drove back also; but before the regulars, now almost exhausted, could regain their position, the third division was on the plain. Thus it was, as often as a division retired before

CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

the bayonet, another gave relief. Ferguson passed from point to point, and cheered and rallied his men; but suddenly his white charger was seen dashing down the mountain-side without a rider: he had fallen by a rifle-ball. The animating spirit was gone; the British and Tories grounded their arms and surrendered at discretion. Three hundred had been killed or wounded, and more than eight hundred were made prisoners. The backwoodsmen lost but twenty slain and a somewhat larger number wounded. Ten of the Tories, who had been especially cruel toward their countrymen, were hanged upon the spot.

The backwoodsmen disbanded and returned home; their victory had revived the drooping spirits of the southern patriots. The battle of King's Mountain bore the same relation to Cornwallis, that the battle of Bennington did to Burgoyne; and both were won by the undisciplined yeomanry.

When Cornwallis heard of the defeat of Ferguson he retreated from Salisbury to Winnsborough, in South Carolina. In one portion of the country Marion appeared, but Tarleton forced him to retreat to the swamps. Then the active Sumter appeared in force again, and repulsed a detachment sent against him. Tarleton went in pursuit, but Sumter learned of his approach, and began to retreat rapidly, while Tarleton pressed on with his usual vigor. Sumter chose an advantageous position; Tarleton attacked him, but was repulsed, and in turn forced to retreat. Sumter was severely wounded; he was compelled to retire for some months; his band, in the mean time, separated.

Gates now advanced South to Charlotte. Here he was overtaken by Greene, who, on the suggestion of Washington, had been appointed by Congress to the command of the southern army. Congress had also ordered an inquiry into the conduct of Gates.

Greene found the remnants of the army in a miserable

condition, without pay, without necessaries, and their clothes in rags. To increase the army, divisions were sent from the North. Morgan with a regiment, Lee's body of horse, and some companies of artillery, were with Gates when Greene arrived.

During this time, a civil war, almost savage in its character, was raging all over the Carolinas. Little parties of Whigs and Tories fought with each other whenever they met; they ravaged each other's neighborhoods, and plundered the people of their furniture, and even of their clothes.

The year was about to end, with the British power triumphant in the three southern States. In Georgia the royal government was re-established, while the important points held in the Carolinas gave the enemy almost the entire control of those States. The numerous Tories were exultant, while the whole country was nearly exhausted by the long continuance af the war.

During the summer of this year, it was thought England would find abundant employment for her armies and navy nearer home. Because she had the power, by means of a vast navy, she assumed the right to board the ships of any neutral nation, and to search for merchandise contraband of war—a practice as arbitrary and arrogant as it was unjust and injurious. Queen Catharine, of Russia, would submit no longer to the imposition. She proposed to enter into a combination, known as the "Armed Neutrality," with Denmark and Sweden, to enforce the policy that "Free ships make free goods." That, in time of war, ships of neutral nations could carry merchandise without liability to seizure by the belligerent powers. The British ministry hesitated to enlist the whole maritime world against their commerce, that was already suffering much. Holland gave indications that she was willing, not only to join the "armed neutrality," but to enter into a commercial treaty with the United States. This inten-

CHAP. XXXVI. 1780.

tion became known by the capture of a correspondence on the subject. The vessel on board of which Henry Laurens, the American Minister to Holland, had sailed, was captured by an English frigate. Laurens threw the papers overboard, but an English sailor leaped into the water and recovered them.

Laurens was descended from one of the many Huguenot families that sought an asylum in South Carolina; nor did he belie the nobleness of his ancestry. He was taken to England and confined a close prisoner in the Tower of London, on a charge of high treason, plied with inducements to desert his country's cause, but without avail. He stood firm, and was finally liberated, to proceed to Paris, there to aid in negotiating a treaty with England herself, on behalf of his country, which had fought its way to independence.

The British ministry demanded that this correspondence should be disavowed, but the States-General, with their usual coolness, gave an evasive answer. England declared war immediately, and her fleet exhibited their thirst for plunder by entering at once on a foray against the commerce of Holland throughout the world.

England now had reason to be alarmed at surrounding dangers. Spain joined France, and their combined fleets far outnumbered hers in the West Indies. Holland declared war against her, while nearer home there was danger. Eighty thousand Irishmen had volunteered to repel a threatened invasion from France; but now these volunteers, with arms in their hands, were clamoring against the oppression that England exercised over their industry and commerce, and threatened to follow the example of the American colonies in not using British manufactures; and, what was still more ominous, demanded that the Irish Parliament should be independent of English control. The whole world was affected by these struggles. Spain sent her ships to prey upon English commerce, and

an army to besiege the English garrison at Gibraltar. France had armies against her in America and in India— both aiding rebellious subjects. To meet these overwhelming powers, England put forth gigantic efforts. We must admire the indomitable spirit, that steady energy, with which she repelled her enemies, and held the world at bay.

1780.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

WAR OF THE REVOLUTION—CONTINUED.

The Spirit of Revolt among the Soldiers.—Arnold ravages the Shores of the Chesapeake.—Battle of the Cowpens.—Morgan retreats; Cornwallis pursues.—Greene marches South.—Lee scatters the Tories.—Battle of Guilford Court House.—Conflict at Hobkirk's Hill.—The Execution of Hayne.—Battle of Eutaw Springs.—Plans to Capture New York.—Wayne's Daring at the James River.—National Finances.—Robert Morris.—French and American Armies on the Hudson.—Clinton deceived.—Combined Armies beyond the Delaware.—French Fleet in the Chesapeake.—Cornwallis in the Toils.—The Attack; Surrender of the British Army and Navy.—Thanksgivings.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781.

THE last year of the struggle for Independence opened, as had all the others, with exhibitions of distress among the soldiers. The regiments of the Pennsylvania line, encamped for the winter near Morristown, grew impatient at the indifference of Congress to their necessities. In truth, that body was more or less distracted by factions, and made no special efforts to relieve the wants of the soldiers. Thirteen hundred of these men, indignant at such neglect, broke out in open revolt, and under the command of their sergeants, marched off toward Philadelphia, to lay their complaints before Congress.

Jan. 1.

General Wayne, to prevent their pillaging, sent after them provisions; he himself soon followed, and urged them to return to their duty. The sergeants, at his instance, proposed to send a deputation to Congress, and to the Pennsylvania Assembly, but the soldiers refused

to entertain the proposition, and persisted in going themselves. Though thus mutinous, they scorned the thought of turning "Arnolds," as they expressed it, but promptly arrested as spies two Tory emissaries sent by Sir Henry Clinton to tamper with their fidelity. These emissaries were soon after hanged. Wayne in his zeal placed himself before the mutineers and cocked his pistols. In an instant their bayonets were at his breast. They besought him not to fire, saying: "We love, we respect you, but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us; we are not going to the enemy; were they now to come out you would see us fight under your orders with as much resolution and alacrity as ever."

Intelligence of this revolt excited great alarm in Philadelphia. Congress sent a committee, which was accompanied by Reed, the President of Pennsylvania, to meet the insurgents and induce them to return to their duty. The committee proposed to relieve their present wants, to give them certificates for the remainder of their pay, and to indemnify them for the loss they had sustained by the depreciation of the continental money. Permission was also given to those who had served three years to withdraw from the army. On these conditions the soldiers returned to the ranks. When offered a reward for delivering up the British emissaries sent to corrupt them, they refused it, saying: "We ask no reward for doing our duty to our country."

The discontent spread. Three weeks after this affair, the New Jersey line also revolted; but that was suppressed by a strong hand in a few days. So much discontent in the army spread consternation throughout the country; not, however, without a salutary effect. The patriots were awakened to make greater exertions to provide for the necessities of the soldiers. Their self-denials, labors, and sufferings had been too long overlooked.

Urgent demands were now sent to all the States,

CHAP. XXXVII. especially those of New England, to furnish the army with the proper necessaries. To encourage enlistments,
1781. some of the States promised to provide for the families of the soldiers, and Congress endeavored to obtain a foreign loan.

Arnold, as the reward of his treachery, received fifty thousand dollars, and the commission of brigadier-general in the British army. Lost to shame, he put forth a "Proclamation to the officers and soldiers of the Continental Army." He contrasted their privations and want of pay with the comforts and full pay of the British soldiers, and offered every man who should desert to the royal cause, fifteen dollars as a bounty, and full pay thereafter. The "proclamation" had no other effect than to increase the detestation in which the soldiers held the traitor.

Clinton sent Arnold with sixteen hundred men, British and Tories, to ravage the coasts of Virginia. Thomas Jefferson, who was then governor, called out the militia
Jan. to defend Richmond; but only about two hundred men could be raised, and with great difficulty most of the public stores were removed. After Arnold had taken possession of the town, he proposed to spare it, if permitted to bring up the ships and load them with the tobacco found in the place. Jefferson promptly rejected the proposition. Arnold destroyed a great amount of private property, burned the public buildings, and some private dwellings. He then dropped down the river, landing occasionally to burn and destroy.

Baron Steuben, who was at this time in Virginia enlisting soldiers for Greene's army, had not an adequate force to repel the invaders. Washington sent to his aid Lafayette, with twelve hundred men, principally from New England and Jersey. They hoped to capture Arnold. On the same errand, two French ships of war contrived to enter the Chesapeake. Soon after, the whole

French fleet, with troops on board, sailed from Newport for the same place. A British fleet followed from New York, and an indecisive engagement took place between them off the entrance to the bay. The French fleet, worsted in the fight, returned to Newport, while the British entered the bay and reinforced Arnold with two thousand men, under General Phillips, who had recently been exchanged for General Lincoln. Phillips assumed the command, much to the satisfaction of the British officers, who disliked to serve under the traitor. CHAP. XXXVII. 1781.

Thus, for the fourth time, the French fleet failed to co-operate with the American land-forces; in consequence of which Lafayette was compelled to halt on his way at Annapolis.

Phillips, having now a superior force, sent detachments up the rivers and ravaged their shores. One of the vessels sailed up the Potomac as far as Mount Vernon. The manager of the estate saved the houses from being burned by furnishing supplies. Washington reproved him in a letter, saying, he "would prefer the buildings should be burned, than to save them by the pernicious practice of furnishing supplies to the enemy." Mar. 26.

Cornwallis, who was at Winnsborough, detached Tarleton, with about a thousand troops, cavalry and light-infantry, to cut off Morgan's division, which was in the region between the Broad and Catawba rivers. When Morgan heard of Tarleton's approach, he retired toward the Broad River, intending to cross it. Tarleton pursued with his usual rapidity. Morgan saw that he must be overtaken; he halted, refreshed his men, and prepared for the conflict. He chose his ground at a place known as "The Cowpens," about thirty miles west of King's Mountain, and thus named because herds of cattle were pastured in that portion of the Thickety mountains. The two armies were about equal in numbers. More than half of Morgan's were North and South Carolina militia, under Jan. 17.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1781.

Colonel Pickens. Morgan disposed his men to the best advantage; the Continentals on a woody hill, and the militia in a line by themselves. He was deficient in cavalry, but placed what he had under Colonel Washington, as a reserve. The British and Tories, though fatigued by their last night's march, were confident of victory; they rushed on with shouts. The militia stood their ground, delivered their fire, but quailing before the bayonet, they broke and fled. In pursuing the fugitives, the enemy almost passed by the Continentals, who, to avoid being taken in flank, fell back in order. This movement the British mistook for a retreat, and they commenced a vigorous pursuit, but when they approached within thirty yards, the Continentals suddenly wheeled, poured in a deadly volley, then charged bayonet, completely routed them, and captured their colors and cannon. Meantime the British cavalry, under Tarleton himself, continued the pursuit of the militia. While thus rushing on in confusion, the American cavalry attacked them in flank, and routed them also. These two repulses occurred almost at the same time, but in different parts of the field. The enemy were routed beyond recovery, and the Americans pursued them vigorously. The fiery Tarleton, accompanied by a few followers, barely escaped capture. Of his eleven hundred men he lost six hundred, while Morgan's loss was less than eighty.

When Cornwallis, who was only twenty-five miles distant, heard of Tarleton's defeat, he at once determined upon his course. He thought that Morgan, encumbered with prisoners and spoils, would linger for some time near the scene of his victory. He therefore destroyed his baggage, converted his entire army into light troops, and with all his force set out in pursuit. His object was twofold; to rescue the prisoners, and crush Morgan before he could cross the Catawba and unite his force with that of General Greene.

Morgan was too watchful to be thus caught. He knew Cornwallis would pursue him, and he left his wounded under a flag of truce, and hurried on to the Catawba, and crossed over. Two hours had scarcely elapsed before the British vanguard appeared on the opposite bank. A sudden rise in the river detained Cornwallis two days; in the mean time Morgan sent off his prisoners, and refreshed his men. 1781.

When Greene heard of Morgan's victory, he put his troops in motion, and two days after the passage of the Catawba joined him and assumed the command. He was not yet able to meet the enemy, and the retreat was continued toward the Yadkin, the upper course of the Peedee. His encumbered army could move but slowly; just as his rear-guard was embarking on the river, the British van came up. A skirmish ensued, in which the Americans lost a few baggage wagons. To-morrow, thought Cornwallis, I shall secure the prize; and he halted for the night to rest his weary soldiers. The rain had poured in torrents, and in the morning the river was so much swollen, that his army could not ford it, and Greene had secured all the boats on the other side. The latter, though here joined by other divisions, dared not risk a battle with his unrelenting pursuers. He called out the militia in the neighborhood to check the enemy at the fords, and hurried on to cross the river Dan into Virginia, whence alone he could receive recruits and supplies. General Morgan, on account of illness, now withdrew from the army, and Greene left Colonel Otho H. Williams, with some light-armed troops, to keep the pursuers in check. Feb. 3.

As soon as possible Cornwallis crossed the Yadkin; if the Americans could get beyond the Dan they would be safe, and he strained every nerve to cut them off. He supposed they could not cross at the lower ferries for want of boats, and that they must go higher up the stream, where it could be forded. With this impression he pushed

CHAP. XXXVII. 1781. for the upper fords, and Colonel Williams kept up his delusion by manœuvring before him in that direction. But the judicious Greene, anticipating the movement, had taken measures to collect boats at the lower ferries, and sent forward Kosciusko to throw up breastworks to defend them. He now urged on his weary soldiers, at the rate of thirty miles a day, reached the ferries, and carried over his main body, and the baggage. Meanwhile, when they had sufficiently retarded the pursuers, by breaking down bridges and carrying off provisions, the light-troops, as if for the night, kindled their camp-fires in sight of the foe; then dashed off, and by a rapid march Feb. 14. of forty miles, reached the ferries and passed over. In a few hours the van of the British appeared on the opposite bank. Cornwallis, in his movement toward the upper fords, had gone twenty-five miles out of his way. After a chase of more than two hundred miles, the object of his pursuit lay in sight, but the waters between could not be forded, nor could boats be obtained. As the two armies rested in sight of each other, how different were their emotions! The one overflowing with gratitude, the other chafed with disappointment.

The half-clad Americans had toiled for nearly four weeks over roads partially frozen, through drenching rains, without tents at night; multitudes were without shoes, and in this instance, as in many others during the war, their way could be tracked in bloody foot-prints. Twice had the waters, through which they had safely passed, risen and become impassable to their pursuers, and again a river swollen by recent rains lay between them. Was it strange that those who were accustomed to notice the workings of Providence, believed that He who orders all things, had specially interposed His arm for the salvation of the patriots?

After resting his soldiers—who, if they were compelled to march rapidly, were comfortably clad—Cornwallis com-

menced to move slowly back. He and his officers were greatly mortified at their want of success; they had made great sacrifices in destroying their private stores, that when thus freed from encumbrances, they could overtake the Americans and completely disperse them. A few days later, he took post at Hillsborough, whence he issued another of his famous proclamations. 1781.

General Greene refreshed his troops, of whom he wrote to Washington, that they were "in good spirits, notwithstanding their sufferings and excessive fatigue." He then repassed the Dan, and boldly marched in pursuit, to encourage the Whigs of the Carolinas, and prevent the Tories from rising.

It was rumored that Tarleton was enlisting and organizing great numbers of Tories in the district between the Haw and Deep rivers. General Greene sent Colonels Lee and Pickens, with their cavalry, against him. On their way they met three or four hundred mounted Tories, who mistook their men for Tarleton's, and came riding up, shouting "Long live the king!" It was for them a sad mistake. The Americans made no reply, but surrounded them, and without mercy cut them to pieces. Another exhibition of that deadly rancor that prevailed in the South between the Whigs and the royalists. This check taught the Tories caution, and materially diminished their enlistments. Many others, on their way to the British camp, when they heard of this conflict, returned to their homes. Mar. 2.

Cornwallis, almost destitute of supplies, changed his position, and moved further South. Greene cautiously followed, not daring, from very weakness, to risk an engagement with the enemy's veterans, except when they were in small parties. As for himself, he was so watchful against surprise, that he never remained more than one day in the same place, and never communicated to any one beforehand where he expected to encamp. Feb. 26.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781.

Mar. 15.

Fresh troops, in the mean time, were gradually joining him from Virginia and Maryland, and when his force amounted to four thousand, he left his baggage seventeen miles in the rear, and approached the enemy to give them battle. It was in the vicinity of Guilford Court House. He drew his army up in two lines; the militia, in whom he had little confidence, as they were apt to give way at the first charge, he placed behind a fence, and stationed sentries in the rear, with orders to shoot the first man who should run. The battle was fought in a region covered with thick woods, with cleared fields interspersed. The North Carolina militia could not withstand the shock of the British charge, but threw down their arms and fled. The Virginia militia, under Colonel Stevens, stood their ground, and for a time kept up a destructive fire; but they too were compelled to yield to the bayonet. Now the enemy pressed on in pursuit, but presently Colonel Washington charged them with his horse, and drove them back. Then again the British artillery opened upon the American pursuers, and they in turn were checked. Greene depended much on his Continentals, but one of the newly-raised Maryland regiments gave way before a battalion led by Colonel Stewart. The battalion was presently checked by Colonel Washington's cavalry, and the brave Stewart was himself slain. It was impossible to retrieve what the North Carolina militia had lost, and Greene ordered a retreat, which he conducted with his usual skill.

Though Greene retreated from the field, Cornwallis was unable to pursue. More than a thousand of the militia deserted and returned home, and Greene's army was soon as weak as ever. This has been thought one of the severest battles of the whole war. "The wounded of both armies lay scattered over a wide space. There were no houses nor tents to receive them. The night that followed the battle was dark and tempestuous; horrid

shrieks resounded through the woods; many expired before morning. Such is war!"

1781. Cornwallis's army was so broken by this battle, and weakened by desertions and sickness, that it numbered but about fourteen hundred men. He was compelled to abandon his position, and fall back to Wilmington, near the seaboard. After recruiting his men, Greene boldly marched into South Carolina, and advanced rapidly upon Camden, where Lord Rawdon with a small force held command. That central position was connected, on the one hand, with Charleston, and on the other with the strong forts of Ninety-Six and Augusta. Between these important points, there were several smaller posts. Lee and Marion were sent, with their cavalry, to attack some of these. Greene himself advanced within two miles of the British lines, and encamped at Hobkirk's Hill, near a swamp which covered his left. Rawdon thought to surprise the Americans, made a circuit of the swamp, and came suddenly upon the camp; but the surprise was only partial. Greene promptly formed his line. In moving along a narrow passage, the British were exposed to a severe fire, and the American infantry were about to attack them in flank, while the horse, under Colonel Washington, moved to charge them in the rear. Rawdon brought up his reserve to counteract this movement. A regiment of Continentals, in the American centre, and upon whom Greene depended very much, unexpectedly gave way, and thus threw the army into confusion, and a retreat was ordered.

April 7.

April 25.

The loss on each side was nearly equal; the Americans, however, brought off their cannon and checked the pursuit. In the mean while several fortified places belonging to the British fell into the hands of Lee and Marion, thus breaking up the communication between Charleston and the interior.

Rawdon abandoned Camden, and retreated to Monk's Corner, in the vicinity of Charleston.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1781.

Greene marched against the strong post of Ninety-Six, but after besieging it for some time, he heard that Rawdon had been reinforced, and was then hastening to relieve it. After making a vigorous attempt to take the place by assault, he raised the siege and retreated across the Saluda. The heat had now become excessive, and both armies retired from active operations: the American on the hills of the Santee, and the British on the Congaree. The British had lost in the space of seven months the greater part of South Carolina, and were now restricted to the region between the Santee and the Lower Savannah. The partisan warfare continued, although the main armies were at rest.

June 18.

The British resolved to execute as traitors those who had given their parole not to engage in the war or had received a protection, if they should be taken prisoners with arms in their hands. A distinguished citizen of Charleston, Colonel Isaac Hayne, had been taken prisoner at the capture of that city, but owing to family afflictions—a sick and dying wife and helpless children—he gave his parole to remain neutral, and was promised protection. In violation of this pledge, he was soon after ordered to take up arms against his countrymen. He refused; but instead deemed himself justified in again joining the American army.

He was again taken prisoner, and now condemned to die as a traitor. The inhabitants of Charleston, Whig and Tory, petitioned for his pardon, yet Rawdon refused, and Hayne was hanged. His execution was looked upon as contrary to military rule, cruel and unjust. In the minds of the Whigs the bitterest animosity was excited. Greene threatened to retaliate. The American soldiers were with difficulty restrained from putting to death the British officers whom they took prisoners.

When the heat of the weather somewhat abated, Greene moved from the hills up the Wateree to Camden,

and thence across the Congaree and down it to the vicinity of Eutaw Springs. The British, now under Colonel Stuart, retired before him; but the Americans surprised a large foraging party and took a number of prisoners. The remainder escaped and joined their main force, which immediately drew up in order of battle. Though the attack was made with great ardor, the enemy withstood it with determined bravery. The contest raged most fiercely around the artillery, which changed hands several times. The British left at length gave way, and the Americans pursued, but presently the fugitives took possession of a large stone house, surrounded by a picketed garden. From this place they could not be immediately dislodged. A British battalion, which had successfully resisted a charge of the Americans, suddenly appeared at the rear of the assailants. The latter, disconcerted by this movement, and thrown into confusion, began to retreat.

CHAP. XXXVII. 1781. Sept. 8.

The force of each army was about two thousand. The loss of the British was seven hundred, and that of the Americans about five hundred.

The victory was claimed by both parties, but the advantage was certainly on the side of the Americans. Colonel Stuart, the British commander, thought it prudent to fall back to the vicinity of Charleston. Greene retired again to the hills of Santee to refresh his men, who were wretchedly off for necessaries, being barefooted and half-clad, out of hospital stores, and nearly out of ammunition.

Greene's military talents had been severely tested during this campaign; he was as successful in attacking as he was in avoiding his enemies. In no instance was he really equal to them in force and equipments; but he never fought a battle that did not result more to his advantage than to that of the enemy. Their very victories were to them as injurious as ordinary defeats. It is not strange that he was the favorite officer of the Commander-in-chief.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781. While these events were in progress in the South, a series of important operations were also in train in the North. There were two objects, one of which might be attained: New York might be taken, as its garrison had been much weakened by sending detachments to the South; or Cornwallis might be captured in Virginia. But neither of these could be accomplished without the aid of a French army as well as fleet. While the matter was under consideration, a frigate arrived from France bringing the Count De Barras, who was to command the French fleet at Newport, and also the cheering news that twenty ships of the line, under the Count de Grasse, with land forces on board, were shortly to sail for the West Indies, and that a portion of this fleet and forces might be expected on the coast of the United States in the course of a few months. Washington and the Count de Rochambeau had an interview at Weathersfield, Connecticut, to devise a plan of operations. They determined to make an attack upon New York. The French army was soon to be put in motion to form a junction with the American on the Hudson, and a frigate was despatched to inform the Count de Grasse of the plan, and to invite his coöperation.

May.

Clinton, suspecting the designs against New York, became alarmed, and ordered Cornwallis, who was at Williamsburg, Virginia, to send him a reinforcement of troops. To comply with this order, the latter marched toward Portsmouth. Lafayette and Steuben cautiously followed. Their men numbered about four thousand; the army of Cornwallis was much more numerous and better appointed. Lafayette intended to attack the rear-guard of the British when the main body had passed James River. Cornwallis suspected the design, and laid his plans to entrap the Marquis. He sent over a portion of his troops with the pack-horses, and so arranged them as to make a great display; then threw in the way of the

July 6.

Americans a negro and a dragoon, who pretended to be deserters, and they announced that the main body of the British army had passed the river. Lafayette immediately detached Wayne with a body of riflemen and dragoons to commence the attack, while he himself should advance to his support.

Wayne moved forward, forced a picket, which designedly gave way, but presently he found himself close upon the main body of the enemy. In a moment he saw that he had been deceived. Wayne's daring nature decided his course: he at once ordered a charge to be sounded; his men, horse and foot, caught his spirit, and with shouts, as if sure of victory, they dashed against the enemy with great impetuosity, gallantly continued the fight for a short time, and then as rapidly retreated. The ruse succeeded admirably. Cornwallis, astounded at the boldness and vigor of the attack, hesitated to pursue, thinking the movement was designed to lead him into an ambuscade. This delay enabled Lafayette to extricate himself from his dangerous position.

Cornwallis now crossed the river, but while the detachment designed for New York was embarking, a second communication was received from Clinton. He now announced the arrival of reinforcements of Hessians from Europe, and also directed Cornwallis to retain all his force, and choose some central position in Virginia, and there fortify himself. In accordance with this command, the latter chose the towns of Gloucester and Yorktown, situated opposite each other on York River. Here, with an army of eight thousand effective men, he threw up strong intrenchments, and also moored in the harbor a number of frigates and other vessels of war.

The financial affairs of the country continued in a deplorable condition. Congress hoped to remedy the evil by

CHAP. XXXVII.

appointing a single superintendent of finance, instead of the committee to whom it had hitherto been intrusted.

1781. Robert Morris, an eminent merchant of Philadelphia, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, received the appointment. He accepted the office only on the express condition, that all transactions should be in specie value. The results vindicated the wisdom of the choice; the genius in furnishing the "sinews of war" was as efficient as that displayed by others in the field. At his instance Congress established the Bank of North America, with a capital of two millions of dollars, and to continue in force for ten years. The bank was pledged to redeem its notes in specie on presentation. This feature of the institution at once secured the confidence of the public, and the wealthy invested in it their funds. Operating by means of the bank, Morris raised the credit of Congress higher than it ever stood before; and he was also enabled, in a great measure, to furnish supplies for the army and pay for the soldiers. Whenever public means failed he pledged his own credit.

Washington, on his return from the interview with Rochambeau, addressed letters to the authorities of New Jersey and New England, urging them in this emergency to furnish provisions and their quotas of men. But they were dilatory and unable to comply, and he had but five thousand effective men at Peekskill, and they would have been destitute of provisions, had it not been for the energy of Morris.

The French army had remained inactive eleven months at Newport; it now moved to join Washington in the

July. Highlands. Information was received from the Count de Grasse that he would shortly sail with a large fleet for the United States. Washington and Rochambeau hastened their preparations to coöperate with him upon his arrival in the proposed attack on New York. An intercepted letter gave Clinton the knowledge of these movements,

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781.

and he was soon on the alert to defend the city. The British posts on Manhattan Island were reconnoitred by the Americans, the combined armies were encamped at Dobbs' Ferry and on the Greenburg hills, waiting for reinforcements and the Count de Grasse. Presently came a frigate from the Count to Newport with the intelligence that he intended to sail for the Chesapeake. This information disconcerted all their plans; now they must direct their forces against Cornwallis. To accomplish this effectively Clinton must be deceived and Cornwallis kept in ignorance. To "misguide and bewilder" Sir Henry, a space for a large encampment was marked out in New Jersey, near Staten Island; boats were collected; ovens were built as if preparing for the sustenance of a large army; pioneers were sent to clear roads toward King's Bridge, and pains were taken to keep the American soldiers ignorant of their own destination.

Aug.

General Lincoln was sent with the first division of the army across the Jerseys; he was followed by the French. Wagons were in company to carry the packs of the soldiers, to enable them to move with more rapidity. Washington sent orders to Lafayette, who was yet in Virginia, to take a position to prevent Cornwallis retreating to North Carolina; to retain Wayne with his Pennsylvanians, and to communicate with General Greene. He also wrote to the Count de Grasse, who would soon be in the Chesapeake.

Thus were the plans skilfully laid by which the contest was brought to a happy issue. When the Northern soldiers arrived in the vicinity of Philadelphia, and found that they were really going against Cornwallis, they manifested some discontent in prospect of the long southern march in the month of August. At this critical moment, John Laurens, son of Henry Laurens, President of Congress, arrived from France, whither he had been sent to obtain aid; he brought with him a large supply of clothing, ammunition, and arms; and what was just then very

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781. much wanted, half a million of dollars. By means of this, and with the aid of Morris, the soldiers received a portion of their pay in cash. Their good humor was restored, and they cheerfully marched on.

Aug. 28. De Barras, who commanded the French fleet at Newport, suddenly put to sea. Clinton at once divined the object was to unite, in the Chesapeake, with another French fleet from the West Indies; and he sent Admiral Graves to prevent the junction. The admiral was astonished to find De Grasse, with twenty-five sail of the line, anchored within the Capes. De Grasse ran out to sea, as if to give the British battle, but really to divert their attention until De Barras could enter the Bay. For five days the hostile fleets manœuvred and skirmished. Meanwhile De Barras appeared and passed within the Capes, and immediately De Grasse followed. Graves now returned to New York.

Sept. 5.

Sept. 10. Until the main body of the combined armies was beyond the Delaware, Clinton supposed the movement was a ruse to draw him out to fight in the open fields. Cornwallis himself was as much deceived; thinking he would have Lafayette only to contend with, he wrote to Clinton that he could spare him twelve hundred men to aid in defending New York. Not until he was fairly in the toils, when the French fleet had anchored within the Capes, did he apprehend his danger.

Thinking that perhaps a portion of the American army might be sent back to defend New England, Clinton sent Arnold with a force, composed principally of Tories and Hessians, on a marauding expedition into Connecticut. But Washington was not to be diverted from his high purpose. While he and De Rochambeau are pushing on toward the head of the Chesapeake, let us turn aside to speak of this maraud, which closes the career of the traitor in his own country.

New London was the first to be plundered and burned, and there Arnold destroyed an immense amount of property. Fort Griswold, commanded by Colonel William Ledyard—brother of the celebrated traveller—was situated on the opposite shore of the river. This was assaulted, and after an obstinate resistance, in which the British lost two hundred men and their two highest officers, it was carried. When the enemy entered, the Americans laid down their arms, but the massacre continued. Major Bromfield, a New Jersey tory, by the death of the two higher officers, became the leader of the assailants. Tradition tells that when he entered the fort he inquired who commanded, and that Colonel Ledyard came forward, saying, "I did, sir; but you do now;" at the same time handing him his sword: that Bromfield took the sword and plunged it into Ledyard's breast. This was the signal for indiscriminate slaughter, and more than sixty of the yeomanry of Connecticut were massacred in cold blood. The militia began to collect in great numbers from the neighboring towns. Arnold dared not meet his enraged countrymen, and he hastily re-embarked. These outrages were committed almost in sight of his birthplace. Thus closed "a career of ambition without virtue, of glory terminated with crime, and of depravity ending in infamy and ruin."

Sept. 7.

Sept. 27.

The combined armies arrived at Elkton, where they found transports sent by Lafayette and De Grasse to convey them to the scene of action. Previously De Grasse had landed three thousand troops under the Marquis St. Simon, to unite with the forces under Lafayette, Steuben, and Wayne.

As had been anticipated, Cornwallis endeavored to force his way to the Carolinas, but the youthful marquis, whom some months before he had characterized as a "boy," was on the alert. He then sent off expresses with urgent

CHAP. XXXVII.

appeals to Clinton to send him aid. In the mean time he was indefatigable in strengthening his fortifications.

1781.

The combined forces, French and American, were about twelve thousand, besides the Virginia militia called out by Governor Nelson, who, as the State treasury was empty, pledged his own property as security to obtain a loan of money to defray the expenses. The Governor was a resident of Yorktown, and when the cannonade was about to commence, he was asked where the attack would be most effective: "He pointed to a large, handsome house on a rising ground as the probable headquarters of the enemy. It proved to be his own."

The plan of operations were speedily arranged, and the allies began to press the siege with great vigor. Their lines were within six hundred yards of the enemy's works, which they completely surrounded. General Washington himself put the match to the first gun. The heavy ordnance brought by De Barras was soon thundering at the fortifications. The British outworks were very strong, and beyond these were thrown up redoubts to hinder the approach of the assailants. The cannonade continued for four days; the enemy's outworks were greatly damaged and guns dismounted, while a forty-four gun ship and other vessels were burned by means of red-hot shot thrown by the French. Cornwallis withdrew his men from the outworks, but the redoubts remained. Two of these were to be stormed; one assigned to the French, the other to the Americans. The assault was made about eight o'clock in the evening. The Americans, under Alexander Hamilton, were the first to enter; they scrambled over the parapet without regard to order, and carried the redoubt at the point of the bayonet. The French captured theirs, but according to rule, and they suffered more than the Americans in their headlong attack. The emulation exhibited by both parties was generous and noble. From

Oct. 14.

these captured redoubts a hundred heavy cannon poured in an incessant storm of balls. Cornwallis, as he saw his works one by one crumbling to pieces, his guns disabled, his ammunition failing, determined to make a desperate sally and check the besiegers. The British soldiers, a little before daybreak, suddenly rushed out, and carried two batteries, but scarcely had they obtained possession of them, before the French in turn furiously charged, and drove them back to their own intrenchments. But one avenue of escape was left;—they must cross the river to Gloucester, cut a way through the opposing force, and by forced marches reach New York. Cornwallis resolved to abandon his sick and wounded and baggage, and make the desperate attempt. Boats were collected, and in the night a portion of the troops crossed over; the second division was embarking, when suddenly the sky was overcast, and a storm of wind and rain arrested the movement. It was now daylight. The first division with difficulty recrossed to Yorktown, as on the river they were subjected to the fire of the American batteries. Despairing of assistance from Clinton, and unwilling to risk the effect of an assault upon his shattered works, or to wantonly throw away the lives of his soldiers, he sent to Washington an offer to surrender. The terms were arranged, and on the 19th of October, in the presence of thousands of patriots assembled from the neighboring country, Cornwallis surrendered seven thousand men as prisoners of war to Washington, as commander-in-chief of the combined army, and the shipping, seamen, and naval stores to the Count de Grasse.

Oct. 16.

Oct. 19.

At Charleston, when Lincoln capitulated, the Americans were not permitted to march out with their colors flying, as had been granted to Burgoyne, but with their colors cased. It was thought proper to deny them the courtesy granted at Saratoga, and the British soldiers were directed to march out with their colors cased; and Lincoln was deputed by Washington to receive the sword of Cornwallis.

CHAP. XXXVII.

1781.

Washington sent one of his aids to carry the joyful news to the Congress at Philadelphia. He reached the city at midnight. Soon the old State-house bell, that five years before signalized to the people that the Declaration of Independence was made, now awoke the slumbering city to hear the watchmen cry, "Cornwallis is taken! Cornwallis is taken!" The inhabitants by thousands rushed into the streets to congratulate each other. Congress met the next morning and proceeded in a body to a church, and there publicly offered thanks to Almighty God for the special favor He had manifested to their struggling country, then issued a proclamation appointing a day for national thanksgiving and prayer, "in acknowledgment of the signal interposition of Divine Providence." Throughout the whole land arose the voice of thanksgiving from the families of the patriots, from the pulpits, from the army. Never did a nation rejoice more. The clouds of uncertainty and doubt were dispelled; the patriots were exultant in the prospect of peace and of the established freedom of their country. Their intelligence enabled them to appreciate the blessings for which they had so long struggled.

If the battle of Bunker Hill, or the evacuation of Boston, had led to a reconciliation with the mother country, how different had been their feelings. Then an affection, a reverence for England would have lingered, only to retard the progress of the Colonists—at best but half-forgiven rebels—and hold them subordinate to her, not so much in political dependence as formerly, but sufficient to stifle that sentiment of nationality, so essential to the proper development of their character and of the resources of the country.

We have seen how long it took illiberal laws, enforced in a tyrannical manner, to alienate their affections. It now required a seven years' struggle of war, outrage and suffering, dangers and privations, to induce a pervading national sentiment, rouse the energies of the people,

give them confidence, and lead them to sympathize with each other. CHAP. XXXVII

Congress voted thanks to Washington, to the Counts De Rochambeau and De Grasse, and to the army generally. Eulogies were showered upon the Commander-in-chief;—the spontaneous outpourings of a grateful people, who, during the darkest hours of the contest, had in him unbounded confidence. 1781.

Yorktown was now a name to be honored even beyond those of Bunker Hill and Saratoga. How much was involved in that surrender! The long struggle was virtually ended. It had been a contest not for power, not for aggrandizement, but for a great truth and principle, which had been overshadowed by authority and pressed down by arbitrary rule. Said Lafayette to Napoleon, when he sneered at the smallness of the armies engaged in the American Revolution: "It was the grandest of causes, won by the skirmishes of sentinels and outposts." It is true that the number who fell on the battle-fields was comparatively small. The names of but few of these have come down to us; they were written only on the hearts of friends and relatives who mourned their loss. Scarcely was there a family but had a precious record; the cherished memory of some one who had thus sacrificed his life.

NOTE.—The number of soldiers furnished by each State to the Continental army, during the war, may be seen by the following table:

Massachusetts,	67,907	North Carolina,	7,263
Connecticut,	31,939	South Carolina,	6,417
Virginia,	26,678	Rhode Island,	5,908
Pennsylvania,	25,678	Georgia,	2,679
New York,	17,781	Delaware,	2,386
Maryland,	13,912		
New Hampshire,	12,497		231,791
New Jersey,	10,726		

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CLOSING EVENTS OF THE WAR—FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION.

British Efforts Paralyzed.—The States form Independent Governments.—Indian Wars.—Massacre of the Christian Delawares.—Battle of the Blue Lick.—Carleton supersedes Clinton.—Commissioners of Peace.—The common Distress.—Dissatisfaction in the Army.—The "Anonymous Address."—Peace concluded.—British Prisoners; the Tories.—Disbandment of the American Army.—Washington takes leave of his Officers.—Resigns his Commission.—Shay's Rebellion.—Interests of the States clash.—The Constitutional Convention.—The Constitution ratified by the States.—The Territory North-west of the Ohio.—Ecclesiastical Organizations.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1781.

On the very day that Cornwallis surrendered, Clinton sailed to his aid with seven thousand men. When off the entrance to the Chesapeake, he learned, to his astonishment, that all was lost. As the British fleet was much inferior to that of the French, he hastily returned to New York.

Washington requested Count de Grasse to coöperate with General Greene in an attack upon Charleston, but De Grasse pleaded the necessity of his presence in the West Indies, and excused himself. The Americans now returned to their old quarters on the Hudson. The French army wintered at Williamsburg in Virginia, while the British prisoners were marched to Winchester.

The capture of Cornwallis paralyzed the efforts of the

British and Tories. In the South they evacuated all the posts in their possession, except Savannah and Charleston; before the latter place Greene soon appeared, and disposed his forces so as to confine them closely to the town. In the North, the only place held by the enemy was New York. 1781.

Washington never for a moment relaxed his watchfulness, but urged upon Congress and the States to prepare for a vigorous campaign the next year. But so impoverished had the country become, that to raise men and money seemed almost impossible, while the prospect of peace furnished excuses for delay.

The several States now took measures to form independent governments, or to strengthen or modify those already in existence. Some of these had been hastily formed, and, consequently, were more or less defective. The custom was introduced of sending delegates to conventions called for the purpose of framing constitutions, which were submitted to the people for their approval or rejection. The common law of England was adopted, and made the basis in the administration of justice in the courts.

A cruel border warfare was still continued by incursions of Indians against the back settlements of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and against the frontiers of New York, by Indians and Tories.

Many of the Delaware Indians, under the influence of Moravian teachers, had become Christian, and so far imbibed the principles of their instructors as to be opposed to war. Some of these, nearly twenty years before, had emigrated from the banks of the Susquehanna and settled on the Muskingum, where they had three flourishing villages, surrounded by corn-fields. The hostile Indians from the lakes, in their incursions against the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, robbed these Delawares of

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1781. their provisions. The Delawares became objects of suspicion to both the hostile Indians and the whites. The former accused them of revealing their plans, the latter of conniving at the incursions of their enemies, and the hostile Indians compelled them to emigrate to the vicinity of Sandusky.

In the mean time, murders had been committed by the Shawanese in the vicinity of Pittsburg. A company of eighty or ninety backwoodsmen volunteered, under a Colonel Williamson, to take revenge on the supposed murderers—the Christian Delawares—a portion of whom had returned to their old home to gather their corn. The expedition reached the villages on the Muskingum, collected the victims, it would seem, under the pretence of friendship, then barbarously and in cold blood murdered about ninety of these inoffensive creatures—men, women, and children.

Mar. 1782.

This success excited to other invasions, and four hundred and eighty men, under Colonels Williamson and Crawford, marched from Western Pennsylvania to surprise the remnants of the Christian Indians at Sandusky, and also to attack the village of the hostile Wyandottes. The Indians learned of their approach, waited for them in ambush, and defeated them; took many prisoners, among whom were Crawford, his son, and son-in-law. These three they burned at the stake.

June 6.

About the same time, a large body of the Indians north of the Ohio, led by the infamous Simon Girty, a tory refugee, invaded Kentucky. They were met by the Kentuckians, under Colonels Boone, Todd, and Triggs, at the Big Blue Lick, when a bloody and desperate encounter ensued. But overwhelmed by numbers, nearly one-half the Kentuckians were either killed or taken prisoners.

After the capture at Yorktown no battle occurred between the main armies, and but one or two skirmishes. In one of these, in the vicinity of Charleston, the younger

Aug.

Laurens was slain—a young man of great promise, who was universally lamented. CHAP. XXXVIII

1782.

Among the English people at large the desire to close the war had greatly increased. With them it had ever been unpopular; they were unwilling that their brethren beyond the Atlantic should be deprived of the rights which they themselves so much valued. The intelligence of the surrender of Cornwallis created among them stronger opposition than ever to the harsh measures of the Government. Yet the war party—the King and Ministry and the majority of the aristocracy—were unwilling to yield to the pressure of public opinion. They were thunderstruck at this unexpected disaster. Says a British writer: "Lord North received the intelligence of the capture of Cornwallis as he would have done a cannon-ball in his breast; he paced the room, and throwing his arms wildly about, kept exclaiming, 'O God! it is all over; it is all over!'" For twelve years he had been prime minister. The pliant servant of the King, he had ever been in favor of prosecuting the war, but now the voice of the English people compelled him to resign.

Sir Guy Carleton, whom we have seen winning the respect of the Americans, by his upright and honorable conduct when Governor of Canada, was appointed to succeed Sir Henry Clinton. In the following May he arrived at New York, empowered to make propositions for peace. He immediately addressed a letter to Washington, proposing a cessation of hostilities, and also issued orders, in which he forbade the marauding incursions of the Indians and Tories on the frontiers of Western New York.

Congress appointed five commissioners to conclude a treaty with Great Britain. These were: John Adams, Doctor Franklin, John Jay, Henry Laurens, who, lately released from his confinement in the Tower, was yet in London, and Thomas Jefferson;—the latter, however, declined to serve. They met at Paris two British Commissioners, who had been authorized to treat with "certain

CHAP. XXXVIII.

colonies" named in their instructions. The American Commissioners refused to enter upon negotiations, unless
1782. in the name of the "United States of America;"—they claimed the right to be recognized a power among the nations. This right was acknowledged by Britain, and on the 30th of November the parties signed a preliminary treaty, which Congress ratified the following April. Negotiations continued, and the final treaty was signed on
1783. the 3d of September following. France and England in the mean time likewise concluded a treaty of peace. The American Commissioners also negotiated treaties of commerce with Spain and Holland.

Though the war was ended, the American people had numberless difficulties with which to contend. The army, that through the many trials of the contest had remained faithful, was in a deplorable condition. The half-pay for life, which, three years before, Congress had promised to the officers, proved to be only a promise. Washington wrote confidentially to the Secretary of War in behalf of those about to be discharged from the service: "I cannot help fearing the result, when I see such a number of men about to be turned on the world, soured by penury, involved in debts, without one farthing to carry them home, after having spent the flower of their days, and many of them their patrimonies, in establishing the freedom and independence of their country, and having suffered every thing which human nature is capable of enduring on this side of death. You may rely upon it, the patience and long sufferance of this army are almost exhausted, and there never was so great a spirit of discontent as at this instant."
Mar. At this crisis an address, plausibly written, was privately circulated in the camp. It suggested to the officers and men the propriety of taking upon themselves to redress their grievances; that they should intimidate Congress and compel it to pay their just demands.

The address seems to have been the embodied sentiments of some half dozen officers, although written by Captain Armstrong, the son of General Armstrong of Pennsylvania. A call was issued for a meeting of the officers, but the next morning, in the regular orders for the day, Washington took occasion to disapprove of the meeting as a violation of discipline. He also named a day for the officers to assemble and hear the report of a committee of their number who had been sent to lay their demands before Congress. The next day a second anonymous address was issued, but somewhat more moderate in tone than the first. The officers met according to appointment, and Gates, being second in command, was made chairman of the meeting. Washington presently came in, made them a soothing address, appealed to their patriotism and to their own fair fame in toiling for their country, and now were they willing to tarnish their name or distrust their country's justice? He pledged his word to use his influence with Congress to fulfil its promises. He then withdrew. The meeting passed resolutions which condemned in severe terms the spirit of the anonymous address.

Congress soon after resolved to accede to the proposition of the officers, and change the promise of half pay for life, to that of full pay for five years. And also to advance to the soldiers full pay for four months.

This was not the only instance in which the influence of Washington arrested plots designed to ruin the prospects of the young republic. The condition of the country was so desperate that many feared the States could not form a permanent government. At the suggestion of officers who thus thought, Lewis Nicola, a foreigner, a colonel in the Pennsylvania line, wrote Washington an elaborate letter, in which he discussed the expediency of establishing a monarchy, and finally offered him the crown. Washington indignantly condemned the scheme. Said he:

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1783. "I cannot conceive what I have done during my whole life, which could cause any one to imagine that I could entertain such a proposition for a moment."

When these facts became known, it was not strange that the people feared a standing army.

Intelligence came at length of the signing of the treaty between the United States and Great Britain. Congress issued a proclamation giving the information to the nation. On the 19th of April, precisely eight years from the battle of Lexington, the cessation of hostilities was proclaimed in the camp at Newburg.

April 19.

The soldiers of Burgoyne and Cornwallis were yet prisoners, and had been marched to New York in order to be sent home. A general exchange of prisoners now took place. The prospects of the Tories were dreary indeed. The severe laws enacted against them were still in force, and now several thousand of them had assembled at New York, and were compelled to leave the country. The majority of them were wealthy. During the war many of them had held offices in the British service, and some had grown rich, as merchants, landowners, and sutlers for the British army; others, the unscrupulous, by privateering. Those who lived in the North emigrated to Canada and Nova Scotia, while those of the South went chiefly to the West India Islands.

A clause was inserted in the treaty which prohibited the carrying away of the slaves, large numbers of whom had fled to the British army during the campaigns in the Carolinas and Virginia.

Carleton refused to comply with the demand, on the ground that it would be highly dishonorable to deliver them up since they had sought protection under the British flag. To secure their safety, he sent them away among the very first, while at the same time he kept an accurate

list of their number, leaving to future negotiation indemnity for their loss. CHAP. XXXVIII

These negroes, now liberated, were first taken to Nova Scotia; afterward, a large number of them emigrated to Sierra Leone: "Their descendants, as merchants and traders, now constitute the wealthiest and most intelligent population of that African colony." 1783.

Before the disbandment of the army, Washington addressed a letter to the Governors of the several States, urging them to guard against the prejudices of one part of the country against another; to encourage union among the States, and to make provision for the public debt. June.

On the 3d of November the army was disbanded. These patriot soldiers returned to their homes, to mingle with their fellow-citizens, and enjoy the blessings which their valor had obtained for themselves and their posterity. From that day the title of revolutionary soldier has been a title of honor. Nov. 3.

Before the officers of the army finally separated, they formed a society known as the Cincinnati—a name derived from the celebrated farmer-patriot of Rome. The association was to be perpetuated chiefly through the eldest male descendants of the original members. But as this feature, in the eyes of many, seemed to favor an hereditary aristocracy, it was stricken out; still the society continued to be to some parties an object of jealousy.

As soon as preparations could be made, the British evacuated the few places occupied by their troops; New York on the 25th of November, and Charleston in the following month. General Knox, with a small body of troops, and accompanied by Governor George Clinton and the State officers, entered New York as the British were leaving. Nov. 25.

A few days after, the officers of the army assembled at a public house to bid farewell to their beloved commander. Presently Washington entered; his emotions were too strong to be concealed. After a moment's pause he said: Dec. 4.

CHAP. XXXVIII. 1783. "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you; I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy, as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." He then added: "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take my hand." General Knox, being the nearest, turned to him. Washington, affected even to tears, grasped his hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer: "The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye; not a word was spoken to interrupt the dignified silence and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, to the barge which was to convey him across the river. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying to feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment."[1]

On his way to Annapolis, where Congress was in session, he left with the controller at Philadelphia an accurate account of his expenses during the war; they amounted to sixty-four thousand dollars. These accounts were in his own handwriting, and kept in the most perfect manner; every charge made was accompanied by a mention of the occasion and object.

In an interview with Congress, he made a short address. Said he: "The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations; and my gratitude for the interposition of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increases with every review of the momentous contest." Then recommending to the favorable notice of Congress the

Dec. 25.

[1] Judge Marshall.

officers of his staff, and expressing his obligations to the army in general, he continued: "I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping." CHAP. XXXVIII 1783.

"Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action, and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have so long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life."

The President of Congress, General Mifflin, who, in the darkest hour of the revolution, had favored the Conway Cabal, replied: "Sir, the United States, in congress assembled, receive with emotions too affecting for utterance, the solemn resignation of the authorities under which you have led their troops with success through a perilous and doubtful war. We join with you in commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God; and for you, we address to Him our earnest prayers, that a life so beloved may be fostered with all His care; that your days may be as happy as they have been illustrious; and that he will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give." Washington hastened to Mount Vernon, which he had not visited for eight years, except for a few hours while on his way against Cornwallis.

1784. Independence was at last attained, but at immense sacrifices. The calamities of war were visible in the ruins of burned towns, in the ravaged country, in the prostration of industry, and in the accumulation of debts. These amounted to one hundred and seventy millions of dollars —a sum enormous in proportion to the resources of the country—two-thirds of this debt had been contracted by Congress, and the remainder by the individual States.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1784. These were evils, but there were still greater which came home to the domestic hearth. Frequently the members of families had taken different sides, some were Whigs and some were Tories; and that remorseless rancor which so often prevails in times of civil discord, extended throughout the land. It is pleasant to record, that in the course of a few years, a forgiving spirit among the people led to the repeal of the severe laws enacted against the Tories, and very great numbers of them repented of their misguided loyalty and returned to their native land.

On the conclusion of peace the English merchants, alive to their interests, flooded the States with manufactured goods at very reduced prices. This operation ruined the domestic manufactures, which the non-importation association, and necessities of the war had created and cherished, drained the country of its specie, and involved the merchants and people in debt. This poverty was followed by discontent, which prevailed more or less, and excited disturbances in several of the States.

1786. Dec. 25. In Massachusetts a thousand men assembled at Worcester, under the leadership of Daniel Shays, and forced the Supreme Court to adjourn, to prevent its issuing writs for the collection of debts.

Governor Bowdoin called out the militia, which was put under the command of General Lincoln, who in a few

1787. Jan. weeks suppressed the outbreak. It was evident, however, that there was among the people a strong feeling of sympathy with the insurgents, for the vast majority of themselves labored under similar grievances.

This distress was overruled for good. It was the means of bringing all the States to view with favor a union under the same constitution, and thus form a government which should have power to act for the good of the whole country.

The States made trial of independent governments,

but after an experiment of three or four years the result proved unsatisfactory. This was especially the case in relation to the subjects of legislation which concerned the whole country; such as the regulation of commerce, the common defence, the adjustment of controversies between one State and another, and making of treaties with other nations.

These difficulties were increasing — many interests clashed. Some of the States passed laws which conflicted with those of their sisters; since the close of the war, commerce had increased very rapidly, but American merchants were still excluded by the British from the West India trade. They complained to Congress, but the States had not yet conceded authority to that body, to regulate commerce or to legislate for the whole country.

Some States had good harbors, and imported merchandise upon which duties were imposed at the expense of their neighbors; and ports competed with each other by lowering the rate of imports. Thus there were rival ports on the Delaware; and Maryland and Virginia competed with each other for the trade of the Chesapeake, while New Jersey and Connecticut were laid under contribution by their neighbors of New York and Massachusetts. No State could protect itself by retaliation against the restrictions of foreign countries, as the attempt would throw its own trade into the hands of a sister rival.

Efforts were made to obviate these evils, and those States bordering on the waters of the Chesapeake and Potomac sent delegates to a convention held at Alexandria, to establish a uniform tariff of duties on the merchandise brought into their ports. This led to correspondence between the prominent men of the country and the legislatures. Another convention was held at Annapolis, to which there were representatives from only five States; finally, the people elected delegates to meet in

CHAP. XXXVIII. Convention in Philadelphia, to revise the Articles of Confederation.

1787. On the 14th of May the members of the Convention met in the State House, in Philadelphia, in the same hall where the Declaration of Independence was made. Washington, who, since the war, had lived in retirement at Mount Vernon, appeared as a delegate. He was unanimously chosen President of the Convention.

The Convention resolved to sit with closed doors; not even a transcript of their minutes was permitted to be made public. The articles of the old confederation, found to be very defective, were thrown aside, and the Convention addressed itself to framing an independent constitution.

There were present about fifty delegates, representatives from eleven different States, all of whom had the confidence of their fellow-citizens, and were distinguished for their intellectual and moral worth and experience in public affairs. Some had been members of the Stamp Act Congress in 1765, some of the Continental Congress in 1774, and some were also among the signers of the Declaration of Independence. Conspicuous was the venerable Dr. Franklin, now in his eightieth year, who, thirty years before, at a convention at Albany, had proposed a plan of union for the colonies.

The various disturbances in different parts of the land had shaken the faith of many in the power of the multitude to govern themselves. Said Elbridge Gerry, in the Convention: "All the evils we experience flow from an excess of democracy. The people do not want virtue, but are under the dupes of pretended patriots; they are daily misled into the most baleful measures of opinions."

It was necessary to have a central government, which could give security to all the States, and at the same time not conflict in its powers with their rights.

It was found very difficult to arrange satisfactorily the

representation in the two branches of the proposed government. The smaller States were alarmed, lest their rights would be infringed upon by the overwhelming majority of members coming from the larger ones. This difficulty was removed by constituting the Senate, in which the States were represented equally without reference to their population; each being entitled to two members, while in the House of Representatives the States were to be represented in proportion to their population.

After four months of labor, during which every article was thoroughly discussed, the Constitution was finished and signed by all the members present, with the exception of three: Gerry, of Massachusetts, George Mason and Edmund Randolph, of Virginia. This result was not obtained without much discussion; at one time, so adverse were opinions that it was apprehended the Convention would dissolve, leaving its work unfinished. It was then that Franklin proposed they should choose a chaplain to open their sessions by prayer. Said he: "I have lived a long time; and the longer I live the more convincing proofs I see of this truth, that God governs the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without his notice, is it possible that an empire can rise without his aid?"

The Convention presented the Constitution thus framed to Congress, and that body submitted it to the people of the States for their approval or rejection.

It was a document of compromises; probably not a member of the Convention was perfectly satisfied with it. There were three prominent compromises; the first, the equal representation in the Senate, a concession to the smaller States; the second, that in the enumeration of the inhabitants three-fifths of the slaves were to be included in determining the ratio of representation in the lower house of Congress; a concession to the slaveholders;

CHAP. XXXVIII. and the third, permission, till 1808, to the States of Georgia and South Carolina, to receive slaves imported
1787. from Africa, as the delegates from those two States refused to sign the Constitution except on that condition. The great desire to secure the moral power of a unanimous vote of the members of the Convention in favor of their own work, alone obtained this concession.

In less than a year after the Constitution was submitted to the people, it was adopted by all the States, except North Carolina and Rhode Island, and by them in less than two years.

This ratification of the Constitution was not brought about without a struggle. The subject was discussed in conventions and in the legislatures, and in the newspapers. The States were for a time unwilling to resign any of their sovereignty to a Federal or National Government.

Many elaborate essays, collectively known as the Federalist, were written by Alexander Hamilton, Jay, and Madison, in favor of its adoption. These essays had an immense influence upon the leading minds of the country; and these in turn greatly influenced the popular will.

It shows the practical wisdom of those who framed the Constitution, that in the application of its principles for almost three-quarters of a century, it has been found necessary to change or modify only very few of its articles.

While the Convention which framed the Constitution was in session in Philadelphia, the Continental Congress
July 13. in New York passed a bill "for the government of the Territory north-west of the Ohio." That region had been ceded to the United States by the States of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York and Virginia. In this bill were introduced provisions securing the exercise of religious freedom, and for the encouragement of schools, and also the proviso that "there shall be neither slavery, nor in-

voluntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment for crime." The region south of the Ohio was to be afterward regulated. Three years before Thomas Jefferson had introduced a bill, and urged its passage with all his influence, to exclude slavery not only from the territory then held by the United States, but from all which should thereafter be ceded to Congress by the respective States. This bill failed by only a few votes.

The people, though thus engaged in moulding their political institutions, did not neglect to conform their systems of ecclesiastical government to the new order of things. The Revolution had changed the relation of the religious denominations to the State. In New England, Congregationalism was the established religion, and every citizen was required to aid in the support of some church. In all the southern colonies the Episcopal Church was equally favored, and partially so in New York and New Jersey. Only in Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, and Delaware, were all the Protestant sects on an equality, as to their religious rights.

The Episcopal Church was more disorganized than any other. It had hitherto been attached to the diocese of the Bishop of London, but now that authority was not recognized.

As yet there was no American bishop, and no means to obtain the consecration of any clergyman to that office, except by English bishops. Accordingly the Reverend Samuel Seabury, of Connecticut, at the request of the Episcopalians of that State, visited England to obtain ordination as a bishop. But the English bishops were prevented by law of Parliament from raising any one to that dignity, who did not take the oaths of allegiance, and acknowledge the King as head of the Church. Seabury then applied to the non-juring bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, by whom he was ordained. Some Episco-

CHAP. XXXVIII. palians, however, were not satisfied with an ordination at the hands of the Scottish bishops.

1787.

A convention of delegates, from several States, met and formed a constitution for the "Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America." After some revision this constitution was adopted by conventions in the separate States. Titles were changed in order to conform to republicanism; such as "Lord Bishop," and all such as were "descriptive of temporal power and precedency." The Liturgy for the same reason was modified. A friendly letter was addressed to the English bishops, requesting at their hands ordination of American bishops. An Act of Parliament gave the desired authority, and William White, of Philadelphia, Samuel Provost, of New York, and James Madison, of Virginia, were thus ordained. Soon after these ordinations, a General Convention ratified the constitution, and the organization of the Episcopal Church in the United States was complete.

About this time came Thomas Coke, as superintendent or bishop in the Methodist Episcopal Church. He had been an able laborer with Wesley, by whom he was ordained to that office. This sect spread very rapidly, especially in the south; in that section of the country were a great many vacant parishes, which belonged to the Episcopal Church, numbers of whose clergymen left the country during the troubles of the Revolution. At this time the denomination did not number more than ninety preachers, and fifteen thousand members.

The institutions of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches required no change to adapt them to the new order of things.

1788. The Presbyterians took measures to organize their Church government on a national basis. Four Synods were formed out of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia. A General Assembly, composed of delegates from

all the Presbyteries of the land, was authorized to meet annually.

1788. Soon after the treaty of peace with England, the Pope's Nuncio at Paris made overtures to Congress, through Doctor Franklin, on the subject of appointing a Vicar Apostolic or bishop for the United States. On the ground that the subject was purely spiritual, and therefore beyond its jurisdiction, Congress refused to take any part in the matter. The Pope then appointed as his vicar apostolic, John Carroll, a brother of Charles Carroll, of Carrollton; the same was afterward raised to the dignity of Archbishop of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States.

Almost immediately after the Declaration of Independence the Presbytery of Hanover, in Virginia, addressed a memorial to the House of Assembly, in which they petitioned for the separation of church and state. 1776 They preferred that the gospel should be supported by the free gifts of its friends; they asked no aid from the civil power to maintain their own churches, and were unwilling that any denomination should thus be favored. The movement thus commenced was ardently seconded by the Baptists and Quakers, who petitioned the Assembly to the same effect. These petitions were met by counter-memorials from the Episcopalians and Methodists, who urged in behalf of the Establishment, that it was a system which "possessed the nature of a vested right, and ought to be maintained inviolate."

The separation of church and state soon became a prominent question in Virginia. Jefferson took an important part in the animated contest, but the most effective was the united influence of those who first opposed the establishment, and who never relaxed their efforts till the churches were declared independent of the civil power, and every colonial law interfering with the religious rights of the people was swept away.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

1788.

The example thus set by Virginia was not without its influence; the union of church and state was dissolved in the other States soon after the close of the Revolution, except in Connecticut and Massachusetts, where the system was retained many years longer.[1]

Thus we have seen the Fathers of the Republic equal to every emergency as it occurred. They carried their country through the Revolution; then through the trying period between its close and the formation and adoption of the Constitution, and the adjustment of the difficult question of the relation between church and state. As statesmen and patriots they are held in higher estimation to-day by enlightened and liberal men than ever before; while the cause they advocated takes a deeper hold upon the general intelligence of the world. Had they been advocates of principles that could not bear the test of time and experience, though equally honest and sincere, they would still be looked upon as misguided men. On the contrary, they were in advance of their own age, and as time moves on they are more and more appreciated; their cause was commensurate in importance with the zeal and self-denial they exercised in making the principles of true liberty the inheritance of civilized man. It requires a good cause, as well as success, to secure the respect of future generations.

[1] Hildreth, Vol. III. Dr. Hawkes' Contributions to Ecclesiastical History of the U. S. Dr. Baird's Religion of America.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The Reception and Inauguration of the President.—An Era in human progress.—The Departments of State organized.—Hamilton's Financial Report.—Congress Assumes the Debts of the Nation.—The National Bank.—Commercial Enterprise.—Manufactures.—Indian War.—Harmer's Repulse.—St. Clair defeated.—Wayne defeats the Indians.—Political Parties.—Jefferson.—The French Revolution.—Genet arrives as French Minister.—War between France and England.—Neutrality proclaimed by the President.—Partisans of France.—Arrogant proceedings of Genet.—The Whiskey Insurrection.—Special Mission to Great Britain.—A Treaty concluded.—Its Ratification.—Other Treaties.—Washington's Farewell Address.—The Policy of the Government established.

WHEN two-thirds of the States had adopted the Federal Constitution, it became the law of the land. The Continental Congress—that body so remarkable in its origin, in what it had accomplished, and now about to pass out of existence—ordained that the new government should go into operation on the 4th of March, and also designated the city of New York as the place where the National Congress should hold its sessions. The same authority also named the time for electing the President and Vice-President, according to the manner prescribed in the Constitution.

The hearts of the American people were turned to one man. George Washington was unanimously chosen the first President of the Republic. John Adams received the next highest number of votes, and was elected Vice-

CHAP. XXXIX. 1789.

President. Charles Thompson, the old Secretary of Congress, was sent to Mount Vernon to inform Washington of his election, and another messenger to Boston, to inform Adams of his. The latter had just returned from a residence of nine years in Europe, where he had been engaged in public business; he immediately set out to enter upon the duties of his office. As a mark of respect, he was escorted by a troop of horse through Massachusetts and Connecticut, and was met at the New York State line, and in a similar manner attended to the city.

Washington wished to travel to New York in as private a manner as possible. But enthusiasm and respect drew the people in crowds to see and honor him. The authorities of the States through which he passed, vied with each other in testifying their regard. The most graceful reception, and no doubt to him the most grateful, was the one he received at Trenton. As he came to the bridge, over which, twelve years before, on the eve of the battle of Princeton, he retreated with his weary and disheartened soldiers, he found it spanned by a triumphal arch bearing the inscription: "The Defender of the Mothers will be the Protector of the Daughters." Here were assembled a company of matrons and young girls, dressed in while, with baskets of flowers in their hands. As he approached they began to sing an appropriate ode, written for the occasion. At the close of the line, "strew your hero's way with flowers," they suited the action to the sentiment by strewing the flowers before him. At Elizabethport he was met by a committee of both Houses of Congress, and the heads of departments, and received on board a barge, magnificently decorated, and manned by thirteen pilots in appropriate uniforms. The barge was accompanied by a numerous cortege of boats filled with citizens. Welcomed to the city, amidst the salutes of artillery from the ships in the harbor, American as well as foreign, and from the battery, he was conducted to

the house prepared for his reception, by Governor George Clinton, the State officers, and a numerous concourse of people.

On the morning of the 30th of April, at 9 o'clock, the churches were opened for religious services and prayer. A little after the hour of noon, on the balcony of the Federal Hall, on the site of the present Custom House, in the presence of a vast concourse of people in the streets, the oath of office was administered to the President elect, by Robert R. Livingston, Chancellor of New York. At the close of the ceremony the Chancellor exclaimed: "Long live George Washington, President of the United States!" The assembled multitude responded to the sentiment.

April.

The members of both Houses returned to the Senate chamber, where the President delivered an inaugural address, replete with wisdom and with sentiments designed to harmonize the discordant opinions which prevailed, and with renewed expressions of gratitude to Heaven for the favor granted the people of America, in all their struggles. Then he closed by announcing that he would receive no remuneration for his services, only asking that his expenses might be paid. The members of Congress, accompanied by the President, then went in procession to St. Paul's church, where, led by Bishop Provost, the Chaplain of the Senate, they implored the blessing of the King of nations upon the government just inaugurated.

The youthful nation was about to assume the powers of self-government, under circumstances never before witnessed in the history of man; to throw off the useless in forms and systems, retain what was valuable, and commence a new era in human progress. The people themselves established their own government; its Constitution was framed to secure their own welfare, and not to make the State great at their expense. They had learned this of their fathers. In English history all the great advances in securing the enjoyment of human rights, from the day

CHAP. XXXIX. 1789.

on which Magna Charta was given, to the Declaration of Independence, had tended to protect the rights of the subject—the individual man—and now this principle, untrammelled by clogging forms, was to be carried out. The individual man was to be pre-eminent; the State only his instrument, the mere machine of his own contriving, designed and moulded from time to time to protect his civil and religious privileges. In the great empires of the Old World, the empire was everything; the people nothing. Now the people were to be everything; henceforth *they* were to be the fountain of power and influence. Ancient Greece and Rome had their civilization, their literature, their art, their liberty; but they failed; they had no elevating principle like Christianity to permeate and influence the people, penetrate their inmost life, and dignify the humblest by bringing into exercise the noblest attributes of their nature. A Christianized civilization; the recognition of man's dearest rights; an open field for individual enterprise; attachment to institutions under whose ample shield protection was secured to all, were so many pledges of the ultimate success of a people thus governed.

The new government had before it a difficult task to arrange the various departments of State; to obtain revenue, and pay off the national debt. Three executive departments were created, the presiding officers of which were styled secretaries—the Treasury, War, including that of the Navy, and Foreign Affairs. These secretaries, the President, with the concurrence of the Senate, could appoint to office, or dismiss from the same. They were to constitute his cabinet or council; and when requested by him, were bound to give in writing their opinions on the subject under discussion. A judiciary for the nation was established, under the title of the Supreme Court of the United States, having subordinate Circuit and District courts. Washington nominated Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury; General Knox, Secretary of

War; Thomas Jefferson, Secretary for Foreign Affairs; John Jay, Chief Justice of the United States, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General. CHAP. XXXIX. 1789.

The first session of Congress, a laborious one of six months, was spent in organizing the government. It shows the spirit of the times, that before they adjourned Congress passed a resolution, requesting the President to recommend a "day of public thanksgiving and prayer, in acknowledgment of the many signal favors of Almighty God, and especially his affording the people an opportunity peaceably to establish a constitution of government for their safety and happiness."

In January, the second session of the First Congress commenced. The President, instead of sending a written message, as is now the custom, made to both Houses, assembled in the Senate chamber, an address. He directed their attention to the public defence; to the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, and literature; to the enactment of naturalization laws, and especially to the payment of the national debt. These various heads of business were referred to committees. During this session the official intercourse between the heads of departments and the Houses of Congress took the form of written communications. 1790.

Hamilton made his celebrated financial report, in which he recommended certain measures for obtaining revenue to defray the current expenses of the Government and pay off the national debt. This debt was in the form of certificates or notes of obligation to pay for value received. During the war they had been issued by the States as well as by Congress, to persons who furnished supplies to the army, and for other services. Congress assumed these debts, and also the foreign debt. The expenses of two distinct governments—the Federal and that of the separate States—were to be borne. The revenue could be derived only from taxes on property. As the control of

CHAP. XXXIX.

1790. commerce had been transferred to Congress by the States, it was fitting that the revenue derived from the tax or duty levied on imported merchandise should be appropriated to the support of the Federal Government, while that arising from real estate and other sources, should be assigned to the use of the States. Hamilton proposed, and the government adopted the system of indirect taxation by raising revenue from the duties thus imposed; and to meet a certain deficiency at the time, an excise, or tax on the manufacture of domestic spirits.

Near the close of this session, Congress, after much discussion, passed a bill to locate the seat of the General Government on the banks of the Potomac, and authorized the President to select the spot within certain limits, and to make arrangements for the erection of suitable buildings. Until these should be ready for occupation, its sessions were to be held in Philadelphia, at which place, accordingly, the second Congress began its first session.

Dec. 6.

The President congratulated the members on the increasing prosperity of the country, and the unexpected success in obtaining revenue. On the recommendation of Hamilton, Congress gave a charter for twenty years for a National Bank, with the privilege to establish branches in any of the States. The capital of the Bank was ten millions, of which the government took two millions, and individuals the remainder. The Bank was as beneficial to the government as it was to the commercial interests of the country. Its bills were payable in gold or silver when presented at its counters. This feature had a decided effect; it raised the credit of the General Government, and inspired confidence in the commercial world. The first census, just taken, showed the population of the States to be almost four millions.

By assuming the debts contracted by the States in the defence of their common liberties, Congress had simply performed an act of justice; provision was made to pay

the interest, and also in time to liquidate the debts themselves. The duties imposed upon imports to raise revenue, had also a beneficial effect upon the struggling manufactures of the country. The mutual confidence between the States and the Federal Government, produced a like influence upon the minds of the people; their industry was encouraged, and their commerce extended. American merchantmen were seen on almost every sea; some sailed to the north-west coast of the continent, where, in exchange for trinkets, they obtained furs; these they bartered for cargoes in China, and these again they sold at home at an immense profit; while others were as busily employed in the trade to the East and West Indies, and to Europe. About this time Captain Gray, of Boston, returned from a voyage around the world—the first ever made by an American. On his second voyage he discovered, and to a certain extent, explored the Columbia river. 1790. 1792.

Though the Revolution broke the fetters with which English cupidity had bound the domestic manufactures of the colonies, still there were innumerable difficulties in the way. A coarse fabric, known as linsey-woolsey, and dyed in various colors, derived from the bark of trees in the forest, comprised almost entirely the extent of domestic cloths. At the town of Beverly, in Massachusetts, was established the first factory for making cotton cloth. 1788. "The patriotic adventurers" were not very successful in their enterprise, though they had machines that could "card forty pounds of cotton in a day, and spin sixty threads at a time." Newburyport has the honor of having the first factory for making woollen cloths, and two years later an establishment for printing calico. 1794. These crude efforts were not very successful, but they were the harbingers of future triumphs.

Sir Richard Arkwright improved upon a machine invented by a poor man named Highs, who called it a "Jenny," in honor of his daughter, and who, amid many

CHAP. XXXIX.

discouragements, and the jeers of his ignorant neighbors, contrived to spin a dozen threads of cotton at a time.

1794. He turned his machine by hand; Arkwright arranged it to be driven by water-power. Samuel Slater, "the father of American manufactures," a native of Derbyshire, an apprentice of Arkwright's partner, made himself familiar, not merely with the use of the machine, but with the construction of the machines themselves. The British government did every thing in its power to retain the knowledge of the invention within the kingdom. Slater resolved to emigrate to America, and there introduce this art of spinning cotton. He landed at New York, but not meeting with encouragement, he went to Rhode Island,

1790. and at Pawtucket put in operation sixty-two spindles on the Arkwright principle. Sixteen years later he was joined by his brother, John Slater,[1] who brought with him the recent improvements in the art.

In the valley of the Ohio, Indian troubles were on the increase. The British neglected to give up the Western posts according to the treaty, but retained them with their small garrisons. The Indians became restless, and occasionally made incursions against the frontier settlements, especially those in Kentucky. It was surmised

Oct. that British emissaries had excited them to these outrages.

The year previous they had repulsed General Harmer, who had been sent against them, and this success increased their boldness. General St. Clair, now Governor of the North-west Territory, was appointed to the command of another expedition against them. In the mean time volunteers from Kentucky made desultory expeditions into the wilderness north of the Ohio. They attacked all the Indians they met, friendly or unfriendly, but the latter generally kept out of their way; to burn empty wigwams, and destroy cornfields, only exasperated the savages more

1791. and more.

[1] His descendant, John S. Slater, in April, 1882, had introduced into the N. Y. Legislature a bill organizing an Association to manage a fund of $1,000,000 presented by him for aid in educating the negroes of the Southern States.

CHAP. XXXIX.

It was the middle of September before St. Clair, with an army of about two thousand men, began his march from Fort Washington, the little stockade fort on the site of the present city of CINCINNATI. It was his object to open a way, and establish a line of posts from the Ohio to the Maumee, and there build and garrison a strong fort, as a check upon the marauding Indians. Two of these posts he had already established. The militia who joined the army from Kentucky, were insubordinate, and, as the army could move but very slowly in cutting its way through the wilderness, they grew impatient, and finally numbers of them returned home. The Chickasaw warriors also deserted, and his force was reduced to fourteen hundred men. When he reached the head-waters of the Wabash, his army was surprised by Little Turtle, a celebrated Miami chief, and the Indians, who had hitherto contrived to keep out of sight. The militia fled immediately, and threw the regulars into confusion, who could not regain their order, nor sustain the attack. St. Clair was in his tent prostrated by illness and not able to mount his horse, and when Colonel Butler fell, the army commenced its retreat, or rather flight, abandoning every thing. Fortunately, plunder had more attractions for the savages than pursuit of the fugitives. The remnant of the army returned to Fort Washington, and the whole frontier was again defenceless. St. Clair resigned his command, and the President appointed General Wayne, whom we have seen so daring in the battles of the Revolution, to lead the next expedition; for the sake of connection the account of this will be given here.

1791.

Nov. 4.

An attempt was made to negotiate a peace, but without success; in the mean while Wayne was at Fort Washington, earnestly engaged in recruiting and organizing his army. With his usual energy he pushed his forces rapidly forward to the scene of St. Clair's defeat, and there built a fort which he named Recovery. This

1794.

June.

CHAP. XXXIX.

fort the Indians besieged for two days, but were at length driven off. Six weeks after he suddenly marched to the
1794. Maumee. The Indians were taken by surprise. They took position amidst some fallen timber, prostrated by a hurricane, in order to avoid the cavalry, of which they had a great fear. Wayne ordered the infantry to charge with
Aug. 20. the bayonet through the timber. The Indians were immediately routed, and scattered in all directions. The fertile valleys of the neighborhood were covered with cornfields; these fields of grain were destroyed up to the very gates of the British fort, which Wayne could scarcely restrain his army from attacking. Thus, in a campaign of ninety days, he had marched three hundred miles, the greater part of the road cut by the army, had completely broken the Indian power, destroyed their provisions for the next winter, and established a full garrisoned fort in
Nov. the midst of their country. He now returned to Greenville, some miles west of the Miami, to winter-quarters.

The following summer eleven hundred warriors, representatives from the western tribes, met Wayne at that
Aug. 1795. place and made a treaty which secured peace to the frontier. Their friends the British were about to evacuate the western posts, and they found it more to their advantage to submit. They ceded at this time nearly all the territory of what is now the State of Ohio, for which they were paid. For twenty years the Indians had made incursions into Kentucky, and during that time they had carried off a great number of captives. By this treaty all these captives were to be restored to their friends. It was a moving spectacle to see parents endeavoring to find their children, who, years before, had been taken from their homes, some of them had forgotten their native language, some preferred to stay with their savage captors rather than return to civilized life. Many husbands and wives who had been separated for years, were restored to each other.

The conflict of opinions, in regard to the adoption of the Constitution, had created two parties; the Federalist and the Anti-Federalist: the one, the administration and its friends; the other, those opposed to its policy. As the Constitution became more and more popular, opposition was specially made to Hamilton's management of the financial affairs of the government. Time has proved the wisdom of his policy, which has continued, in the main, to be that of the government from that day to this.

"He was made Secretary of the Treasury; and how he fulfilled the duties of such a place, at such a time, the whole country perceived with delight, and the whole world saw with admiration. He smote the rock of the national resources, and abundant streams of revenue gushed forth. He touched the dead corpse of the Public Credit, and it sprang upon its feet."[1]

In this opposition Jefferson, the Secretary of State, performed a secret but active part. Having been some years in France, as American Minister, he had returned home thoroughly imbued with French politics. He disliked Adams almost as much as he did Hamilton, and he seems to have been haunted with the idea that these two members of the cabinet were, in disguise, either monarchists or aristocrats; that they were devising plans to change the republican form of the government; and that Washington was misled by them. He noticed and recorded every remark which seemed to him suspicious, made by these gentlemen, when in the hours of unreserved social intercourse. While ostensibly the friend of Washington and his administration, he was in communication with the opposition, and diffusing his opinions in his private correspondence. Measures, which at one time he himself had approved, he now feared might have lurking in them some latent principle which might lead to the establishment of

[1] Daniel Webster.

CHAP. XXXIX.

a monarchy. His party thought it expedient to repudiate the name, Anti-Federalists, and assume that of REPUBLICAN, at the same time proclaiming they were the only true friends of the people. An incessant warfare commenced against the policy of the government, accompanied with scurrilous abuse of the President.

1793.

The assumption of the State debts; the national bank; the manner of raising the revenue; the funding system, by which provision was made to pay the interest on the national debt, were, in the eyes of the opposition, so many cunningly-devised plans to create friends among the rich, and in the end subvert the liberties of the country.

The public interest demanded it, and after much solicitation from the leading members of the government, Washington consented to serve for a second term. He was unanimously chosen. Adams was re-elected Vice-President; he receiving seventy-seven electoral votes, and George Clinton, of New York, fifty.

Two months and a half after the first inauguration of Washington as President, a bloody revolution broke out in France. The people of the United States looked with much interest upon the French people struggling for liberty. But it was soon evident that the state of the nation's morals, political as well as private, forbade the success of the French republic. The remembrance of the alliance with France, by which they had received aid in the time of need, elicited the sympathy of the American people. The republican party wished to form an alliance with the new Republic, while Washington, and the majority of his cabinet, as well as the more judicious statesmen, were in favor of neutrality. The unheard-of cruelties, which, in the name of liberty, had been practised in France for a year or two, had cooled the zeal of many. One party had succeeded by guillotining the leaders of its rival; the amiable Louis, who had aided the Americans

1789.

in their struggle for liberty, had been murdered by his subjects; and Lafayette was forced to flee. Strange that such "excesses and horrible butcheries" found apologists in the United States.

While the public mind was thus divided, came Edmond Charles Genet or "Citizen Genet" as he was styled, as minister of the French Republic. He brought the intelligence that France had declared war against England. Now the opposition, urged on by their hatred to the latter power, wished to enter into an alliance with France, and thus involve the country in war. But Washington and his cabinet, in spite of these clamors, promptly proclaimed neutrality as the policy of the United States, and also warned the people not to commit acts inconsistent with the proclamation of neutrality, nor with the strictest impartiality towards the belligerents. The wisdom of the Government saved the country from a multitude of evils.

Genet took advantage of the sympathy manifested for France by a portion of the American people, and began to fit out privateers against English commerce. This was an insult to the dignity of the government, and a violation of the proclaimed neutrality. But the partisans of France were determined that the country should be committed to an alliance with the great sister Republic in the old world.

About this time numerous societies, modelled after the famous Jacobin clubs in Paris, began to be formed in various parts of the Union. The more ultra assumed the title of Democratic, while others preferred to call themselves Democratic Republican. They made strenuous efforts to influence the public mind in favor of French politics, and drive the government from its determination not to interfere in the quarrels of Europe. The President and his policy were assailed in terms of unmeasured abuse. The principal organ of this abuse was the Gazette news-

CHAP. XXXIX.

paper, edited by Philip Freneau, who at this time was employed by Jefferson as translating clerk.

1793. The Republican newspapers continued to accuse the President and his cabinet of being enemies of France, the only friend of the United States, and of being friends of England, the bitter enemy of American liberties.

Genet mistook the clamors of a few for the sentiments of the majority of the people. He now had the audacity to authorize the French consuls in the ports of the United States to receive and sell prizes taken from the English, with whom we were at peace. He had also other projects in view, one to raise men in the Carolinas and Georgia and wrest Florida from Spain, another to raise men in Kentucky and make an attack on Louisiana.

In his correspondence with the government he became more and more insolent, imputed improper motives to its members, till finally the President transmitted his letters to Gouverneur Morris, American minister at Paris, with directions to lay them before the Executive Council—and request his recall.

When Genet received the information of this procedure he was thunderstruck. He charged Jefferson with insincerity, as "having an official language and a language confidential."

Though sympathizing with France in her struggles for liberty, but not in her atrocious excesses, the great majority of the people, when informed of the true state of the case, began to hold meetings and express their approbation of the measures adopted by the President, to prevent his country from being embroiled in European quarrels.

1794.

In due time Morris presented the request that Genet should be recalled; but another change had occurred in France. The management of affairs had passed into the hands of the Jacobins; the Reign of Terror had commenced. Genet was unceremoniously recalled, and Mr.

Fauchet appointed in his place. Genet did not return home, but became a citizen of the United States.

Through much toil and danger had the fertile valleys of the Monongahela and its tributaries been settled. The pioneers were principally Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, from eastern Pennsylvania and Virginia. Their trials were as great as those of the early colonists. At first their families lived in blockhouses or forts, through fear of the Indians, while they, as they cleared the forest or tilled the soil, were always armed; they even carried their rifles in their hands when on the Sabbath they assembled in the grove, or the rude log church, to hear the Gospel. The untrodden mountains lay between them and the settlements on the Atlantic slope. Across these mountains the only road was a bridle-path; the only conveyance a pack-horse. Iron and salt could only be obtained as these pack-horses carried them across the mountains. Salt was worth eight dollars a bushel; and often twenty bushels of wheat were given in exchange for one of salt. Their fertile fields produced an abundance of grain, especially wheat, from which they distilled the famed Monongahela whiskey, while their orchards were laden with apples and peaches from which they made brandies. To find a market for these, almost their only product, they must take a long and dangerous journey in flat-boats down the Ohio and the Mississippi to New Orleans, and thence by ship to the eastern markets.

The tax levied upon the manufacture of domestic spirits was opposed by many. It was no doubt looked upon as unequal, as it was appropriated to the support of the Federal government, while the tax itself fell upon only a small portion of the community. But nowhere was it so persistently resisted as by these settlers of the four western counties of Pennsylvania. They rose in open rebellion; not only refused to pay the tax, but drove off the officers appointed to collect it. This opposition was

CHAP. XXXIX. 1794. not confined to obscure persons, but some of the most influential encouraged the multitude to resist the law; but their ministers, to a man, exerted all their influence in favor of obedience. The more violent leaders openly boasted they would not only resist the law, but separate from Pennsylvania, and form a new State. They professed to have very little regard for the Federal government, and took encouragement from the same party that sustained Genet. To discover those who sent information of their high-handed measures to the government, these rebels robbed the mail; they scoffed at the proclamation of the Governor of the State and also at that of the President. Thus matters continued for nearly two years. It shows the excitement which prevailed, that at one time, with only three days' notice, there assembled on Braddock's Field nearly seven thousand armed men. They had for their motto "Liberty and no excise." The assemblage passed many resolutions, indicating an intention to resort to further acts of violence.

Aug. 1.

This meeting was presided over by Colonel Edward Cook, one of the judges of Fayette county, who had taken an active part in resisting the enforcement of the law. Its secretary was Albert Gallatin, from the same county, a native of Switzerland, who had been in the country but a few years; a young man of superior education; an ardent sympathizer with the French school of politics; a violent opposer of the excise law. He had risen rapidly in popular favor, had been a member of the Legislature of the State, and also of a Convention to amend its Constitution.

Governor Mifflin wished to try the effect of a circular addressed to the insurgents, before calling out the militia. The circular was unheeded. The President issued a proclamation ordering the rebels to desist from their illegal proceedings; at the same time he called out the militia, who responded promptly to the call.

The leaders soon found that, after all, the Federal

CHAP. XXXIX.

authority had the power and was determined to enforce the law. The leaders became anxious to screen the people from the anger of the government, and themselves from the anger of the people. 1794. Nov.

Only when the militia, which had crossed the mountains, in two divisions, formed a juncture at Union Town, did the insurgents submit. A few arrests were made; the most active leaders had fled the country. Thus ended "The Whiskey Insurrection." The vigor and energy displayed by the Federal government in putting down the insurgents added strength to its authority.

The belligerents in Europe, though professing friendship, had but little regard to the rights of Americans. While France was detaining their ships in her ports, England was issuing orders to her navy to seize and detain all vessels freighted with French goods, or laden with provisions for any French colony. These measures would ruin American commerce. Congress passed a resolution which forbade any trading vessel to leave an American port for sixty days. This was designed to annoy the British, by not furnishing provisions for their navy,—yet it operated just as much against the French, through whose particular friends the bill was passed.

A war with England was impending. To avert such a calamity, and to arrange the difficulties existing between the two countries, Washington resolved to send a special ambassador to the Court of St. James. April.

To this important mission he nominated the patriotic and pure-minded Chief Justice Jay. Jay was of Huguenot descent; as to his revolutionary services second only to the President himself; of the highest reputation as a jurist; his integrity, learning and disinterestedness had won him universal respect. In addition, there was a propriety in the selection that conciliated all minds, for he was one of the commissioners who had negotiated the 1783.

CHAP. XXXIX. 1794.

first treaty with Great Britain. It would be a very difficult task to obtain all that the American people thought they had a right to ask. There were many assumptions of power which England would be unwilling to yield. To negotiate under such circumstances required much skill and judgment.

On his arrival in England, Jay was treated with great courtesy and respect, and a disposition was manifested to amicably arrange the difficulties which had arisen between the two countries.

Both parties had their complaints to make. The one, that the Western posts had not been given up according to the treaty; that their neutral rights were not respected; that compensation had not been given for the slaves carried off at the close of the war; that their merchants were excluded from the West India trade, and that British sailors, who by adoption had become Americans, were impressed and forcibly taken out of American ships.

The other, that debts contracted with English merchants prior to the Revolution could not be collected; that the property of Tories had not been accounted for. A treaty was finally concluded, not such as Jay wished, nor as justice demanded, but the best that could be obtained under the circumstances.

The Western posts were to be given up in two years; the West India trade was granted on certain conditions, while free admission was given to British ports in Europe and in the East Indies, but no compensation could be obtained for the negroes. On the other hand, provision was made for the collection of the debts complained of.

A great clamor was raised against the treaty, which was grossly misrepresented. One party contended that its ratification would produce war with France, the other that its rejection would lead to a war with England. There were stormy debates on the subject in Congress, and in some of the State Legislatures. But when the difficulties

that stood in the way of obtaining more desirable conditions became known, and when the character of the treaty itself was understood, the more intelligent and conservative portion of the people, were in favor of accepting it. After a fortnight's debate in secret session the Senate advised its ratification, and thus was secured peace for some years; under the circumstances, a very important gain. 1795. June.

Treaties were also negotiated with Spain, in which the boundaries between the United States, Louisiana, and Florida were more definitely settled. The free navigation of the Mississippi was also secured to both parties, and the Americans were granted for three years the privilege of making New Orleans a place of deposit for their trade.

American commerce, deriving its main resources in the New England States, had increased very rapidly; the trade to the Mediterranean was, however, much hindered by depredations committed upon it by Algerine pirates. Whether to purchase an exemption from these annoyances, as Europe had been in the habit of, or to send a fleet and punish the marauders, was a difficult question to answer. It was thought better, for the present, to redeem the American sailors held as slaves by these barbarians. On this occasion a bill was passed to build six frigates; this was the foundation of the Navy of the United States. The following year a treaty was made with the Dey of Algiers, and the captives released on the payment of a heavy ransom—nearly a million of dollars were paid for this purpose. This money expended in fitting out an armament, and thoroughly chastising the pirates, would have been better policy,—as was proved some years afterwards. Sept. 5.

Three more States—Vermont, Kentucky, and Tennessee—were admitted into the Union during the administration. 1796.

As Washington was unwilling to serve another term,

CHAP. XXXIX.

1796.

1797.

the two parties arrayed their forces for a trial of strength. The Federalists nominated John Adams for President and the Republicans Thomas Jefferson. The parties were very nearly equally divided. Adams received two more votes than Jefferson, and was declared to be elected President, and the latter Vice-President.

Before retiring from public life Washington published a farewell address to the people of the United States. They responded to it with respect and affection; the outburst of a nation's gratitude. It was a truly paternal address, warning the nation against party strife and sectional jealousies, advising the policy of impartial neutrality toward other nations when at war with each other, and as a safeguard to liberty, the preservation of the Union and the Constitution.

Thus ended the eight years of Washington's administration. When it commenced all was unsettled. Now the government was established. In that short time it had been severely tested.

The general policy of his administration became the fixed policy of the government of the United States. The most enduring monument of his integrity and wisdom; of his patriotic and Christian principles. Strange as it may seem, the annals of unscrupulous political warfare do not furnish a parallel to the scurrilous slanders that were heaped upon him, not only during his administration, but at its close. Such were the disreputable means used to induce the United States to become the ally of France, and to join in a war against the hated England.

CHAPTER XL.

JOHN ADAMS' ADMINISTRATION.

Serious Aspect of Relations with France.—Commissioners of Peace.—The French Cruisers.—The Alien Act.—War impending.—Washington, Commander-in-Chief.—Capture of the Frigate L'Insurgente.—Peace concluded.—Death of Washington.—Eulogiums on his Character.—The city of Washington becomes the Seat of Government.

1797.

THE policy of the new administration was like that of the preceding, the cabinet officers of which were retained. The new President was not more influenced by love for England than by admiration for France. He had no expectation that the latter country would establish a government upon just and righteous principles. He expressed a "determination to maintain peace and inviolate faith with all nations, and neutrality and impartiality with the belligerent powers of Europe."

In the mean time relations with France assumed a serious aspect. Nothing would satisfy that power but a willingness on the part of the United States to be used as a dependent. While the French partisans were clamoring for such an alliance, the Directory exhibited their good will by issuing orders to seize and retain all American vessels having on board English manufactured goods.

Washington had recalled Monroe from the French Mission, and in his place sent Charles C. Pinckney. The latter sent his credentials to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, but a few days after Monroe was notified that a

CHAP. XL. 1797. minister would not be received from the United States until grievances were redressed; but Monroe himself was complimented for his devotion to the French cause; under the circumstances, a compliment somewhat equivocal.

Pinckney was treated with studied neglect, bordering on insult; finally he demanded his passports and departed for Holland. During this time French privateers and cruisers were capturing American merchantmen and treating their crews as prisoners of war. Some of the privateers were commanded by renegade Americans, who gloried in sailing under the colors of the "Great Republic."

France also stimulated Holland and Spain to complain of the partiality of Jay's treaty with Great Britain; and was also suspected of an intention to rob Spain of Louisiana and Florida. With overpowering successes, and unscrupulous political morals, she was making rapid strides toward becoming the great power of the world.

Still more alarming was the fact that there existed in the United States a large party that opposed the neutral policy of the government, and openly favored an alliance with the "Terrible Republic."

May. The President called a special session of Congress, and laid before it a statement of the relations with France. When it became known that in their representative the United States had been deliberately insulted; and that French aggressions on American commerce were increasing, the enthusiasm of the partisans of France somewhat declined.

Two special commissioners were appointed to proceed to Paris, and, if possible, adjust the existing difficulties. John Marshall and Elbridge Gerry were selected for this mission. The former, who was a Federalist, became afterward Chief Justice of the United States; the latter, a Republican in sentiment, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, became afterward Vice-President. They were authorized to conclude a treaty;

one that should not conflict with treaties existing with other nations; and to insist upon the right of the United States to remain neutral. CHAP. XI. 1798.

The envoys joined Pinckney in Paris, and immediately made known to the Minister of Foreign Affairs the object of their mission. This minister was no less a personage than the celebrated Talleyrand, who some years before had been an exile in the United States, where, not receiving the attention which he thought he deserved, had returned home in no very complacent humor. At first he refused an audience to the commissioners, but soon after sent irresponsible persons to make them propositions, which, if found convenient, he could easily disavow. Thus for several months they were the victims of diplomatic trickery. Oct.

Meanwhile French cruisers captured American vessels, and French courts confiscated their cargoes, and imprisoned their crews. Finally the commissioners were given to understand, if they would advance a little money for the special benefit of Talleyrand and his worthy friends, and also pledge the United States to make France a loan, that negotiations would be commenced in earnest. This proposition was indignantly refused. Marshall and Pinckney were immediately ordered to leave the country, and Gerry, whose party at home sympathized with France, was invited to remain and negotiate a treaty. It was by such insults and injuries, that France hoped to intimidate the United States, and make them as dependent on her boasted magnanimity, as she had already made Spain. The disrespect offered the commissioners excited great indignation in the minds of the American people. Strange as it may seem, the opposition insisted that France was not to blame, but their own government, in faithfully enforcing its policy of neutrality. At length the correspondence between Talleyrand's agents and the commissioners was published. The French party offered no more

CHAP. XL. 1798. apologies. The spirit of the insulted people was aroused. The reply of Pinckney to the corrupt emissaries of Talleyrand—"Millions for defence, not one cent for tribute," was echoed throughout the land. Addresses to the President, approving his measures, began to pour in from all parts of the nation. The French party soon dwindled to a small minority. The only hope Jefferson cherished was that Congress would adjourn. "To separate Congress now," wrote he, "will be withdrawing the fire from a boiling pot."

A large number of French exiles—it was thought nearly thirty thousand—were, at this time, in the country. Some of these acted as spies, at least so thought the government; some had tampered with the people of Kentucky to induce them to join in an expedition against Louisiana, then belonging to Spain, and some planned a similar expedition against Florida. Thus did they abuse the hospitality tendered them by endeavoring to create divisions among the people, and opposition to the policy of the government.

Under these circumstances Congress passed what was termed the "Alien Act," to continue in force two years,
July. by which the President was authorized to order out of the country aliens, who, by their plots might endanger the interests of the government in case of war. The law was never enforced, but nevertheless a large number of these exiles left the country.

Presently Marshall returned, and confirmed all that had been reported of the demands of the French Republic. The President sent in a message to Congress, which contained a statement of the embarrassing relations existing between the two countries. Preparations were made for war. It was resolved to raise and equip an army; to fortify important posts on the sea-coast; to prepare a naval armament, and to capture French armed vessels, but not to molest merchantmen.

The people came forward with alacrity to assist. Money was subscribed liberally, especially in the seaboard towns, to equip a navy. The frigates so long building were just finished; and the Constitution, the United States, and the Constellation, the germ of our present navy, were fitted for sea.

Washington was nominated as Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief of the army—a nomination unanimously confirmed by the Senate. He heartily approved the measures of the President, and condemned those of France, saying that the administration ought to inspire universal satisfaction, and added, "we can with pure hearts appeal to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and may trust the final result to that kind Providence which has hitherto and so often signally favored the people of the United States."

When it was seen that the United States would not submit to insult, but were preparing to repel it by force, the Directory made overtures for peace. This intimation came from Murray, the American Minister at Holland, to whom Talleyrand had communicated the proposition. The President accordingly nominated two commissioners, Oliver Ellsworth and W. R. Davie, who were to join Murray in Paris.

President Adams took the ground that they should not enter France, unless assurance was given that they would be received in a "manner befitting the Commissioners of an independent nation."

On their arrival in France they found Bonaparte at the head of affairs, and the cunning and politic Talleyrand still in office. Negotiations commenced, and in due time a treaty was concluded, which in its provisions adjusted nearly all the matters of dispute.

Sept.

The fleet which had been fitted out to protect American commerce from French depredations had not been idle. More than three hundred private vessels had been

CHAP. XL. 1799. licensed to carry arms and to defend themselves from the common enemy. But the incident which gave the greatest satisfaction to the country was the capture of the French frigate L'Insurgente, by the Constellation, under Feb. 9. Captain Truxton. The two vessels were about equal in their complement of men and guns. After a severe contest of an hour and a quarter, the L'Insurgente struck her colors, having lost in men twenty to one of her antagonist. This was the first time that an American armed vessel had met one of another nation on equal terms. As a presage of future triumphs it was most grateful to the people.

Ere long intelligence came of the conclusion of peace. The army was disbanded, but the defences along the coast were still maintained, and also it was resolved to keep the navy afloat.

But before it was known in America that the Commissioners of peace had been kindly received, an event occurred which cast a gloom over the nation, and for a season silenced the clamors of party spirit—the death of Washington. In riding about his farm he was exposed to a cold rain. The following morning he complained of a sore throat, an inflammation of the windpipe followed, which speedily produced death. With calm resignation Dec. 14. he expressed his willingness to die.

A joint committee of both Houses of Congress reported resolutions recommending to the people of the United States, out of respect for his memory, to wear badges of mourning for thirty days, and also that his approaching birth-day be celebrated "by suitable eulogies, orations, and discourses, or by public prayers." Thus did the people honor him "who was first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The oration before both houses of Congress, was pronounced by Colonel Henry Lee, whom we have seen as the intimate though youthful friend of Washington. In

accordance with the above recommendation, his birth-day was celebrated throughout the land; the most eminent in the nation delighted to honor his memory. Nor was his name honored only in his native land. When the news reached Europe it elicited emotions of sadness and tokens of respect. The great British fleet of sixty ships of the line, under the command of Lord Bridport, and at the time lying in the English channel, lowered their flags to half mast. In his orders of the day to the French army, Bonaparte, then First Consul of France, paid a tribute to his memory, and afterward caused a funeral oration to be delivered before the civil and military authorities, and the standards of the army to be draped in mourning for ten days.

Such were the public tokens of respect. But he had a higher honor—a place in the affections of the good and humane in private life more than any man of any age; he never received an office in the gift of the people, or at the hands of their representatives, that was not unanimously given. To him alone has gone forth that heartfelt respect, that reverence and gratitude which can be embodied only in the endearing title, the FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.

Says an eminent British statesman and scholar, (Lord John Russell,) "To George Washington nearly alone in modern times has it been given to accomplish a wonderful revolution, and yet to remain to all future times the theme of a people's gratitude, and an example of virtuous and beneficent power." "His intellectual, like his moral qualities, were never brought out to display his own talent or enhance his own glory. They were forthcoming as occasion required, or the voice of the country called for them; largeness of combination, quickness of decision, fortitude in adversity, sympathy with his officers, the burst of impetuous courage, were the natural emanations of this great and magnanimous soul." [1]

[1] Life and Times of James Fox, Vol. 1, pp. 366 and 254.

CHAP. XL.

1799. The administration of Adams, now drawing to its close, was in its policy like that of Washington. During these twelve years, there was much opposition, but that policy in the main has remained unchanged from that day to this. To be free from the turmoil of European politics was wisdom, but to carry it out required the calm determination of Washington, as well as the impulsive energy of Adams, "who was not the man to quail" when he thought duty called.

1800. During the summer the seat of the Federal Government was removed to the City of Washington, then "a little village in the midst of the woods," in the District of Columbia.

The struggle for political power was renewed with great vigor, and in the bitterness of party spirit. The Federalists nominated Adams and Charles C. Pinckney for President, while the Republicans nominated for the same office, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. When the electors came to cast their votes it was found that Adams had sixty-five, Pinckney, sixty-four, and Jefferson and Burr had each seventy-three. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, it became necessary for the House of Representatives to make the choice.

1801. Feb. 17. After thirty-six ballotings, during seven days, Jefferson was chosen President, and Burr Vice-President.

CHAPTER XLI.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.

The President's Inaugural.—Purchase of Louisiana.—The Pirates of the Mediterranean.—Captain Bainbridge.—The Burning of the Philadelphia.—Tripoli Bombarded.—Death of Hamilton.—Aaron Burr.—Opposition to the Navy.—Gunboats.—Right of Neutrals infringed upon.—The unjust Decrees issued by England and France.—American Merchants demand the Right to defend themselves.—Impressment of American Seamen.—Treaty with England rejected by the President.—Affair of the Chesapeake.—The Embargo; its effect.—Public feeling on the subject.—Manufactures.—Embargo repealed.

1801.

On entering upon office Jefferson found the country in a prosperous condition. The revenue was abundant for current expenses; the stability of the government had inspired the industrial interests with confidence, commerce had increased beyond all precedent, and was pressing on to still higher triumphs.

The prospect of a general peace in Europe also gave assurance that American ships would no longer be subjected to unlawful seizures under the pretense that they carried cargoes contraband of war. The census just taken had shown the population to be, within a few hundreds, double what it was at the commencement of the revolution, the total population being 5,319,762. The number of members of the House of Representatives was 141.

The new President professed to deprecate party spirit: and wished to be recognized as a "moderate republican," proclaiming as "brethren of the same principles, we are

CHAP. XLI.

called by different names, we are all Republicans, we are all Federalists." But in a very short time he began to remove those from office, who were not of his own political opinions. The bitterness of party spirit was not allayed by this policy.

1802.

Immigrants had been pouring into the region Northwest of the Ohio. In one year twenty thousand persons had passed into that territory to find homes. The people of the eastern portion, presented themselves at the door of Congress, asking permission to be admitted as a State. The request was granted, and the State of Ohio, with a population of seventy thousand, became a member of the Union.

April.

The Spanish Governor of Louisiana, in violation of an existing treaty—that of 1795—refused permission to the traders on the Mississippi to deposit their produce at New Orleans. This act, so injurious to their commerce, caused a great commotion among the people beyond the mountains. The government was called upon to redress these grievances; the Western people must have the privilege of freely navigating the Mississippi, or they would seize New Orleans, and drive the Spaniards from the territory. At this crisis intimations came from Paris that Spain, by a secret treaty, had ceded Louisiana to France. Bonaparte's vision of restoring the French power on this continent had become somewhat dim, especially as the overpowering fleet of Great Britain would seize and occupy the mouth of the Mississippi, whenever it was known to belong to France. To avoid this contingency, he was willing to sell the entire territory of Louisiana to the United States. Accordingly Robert R. Livingston, American Minister at Paris, commenced negotiations, which resulted in the purchase of that region for fifteen millions of dollars. The rights and privileges of American citizens were guaranteed to the inhabitants of the purchased territory.

1803. April 30.

When the sale was completed, Bonaparte is said to have exclaimed:—"This accession of territory strengthens forever the power of the United States;—I have just given to England a maritime rival that will sooner or later humble her pride." CHAP. XLI. 1803.

In the midst of the turmoil of wars in Europe, the pirates of the Mediterranean had renewed their depredations upon American commerce. Captain Bainbridge in command of the frigate George Washington was sent to Algiers with the usual tribute. The Dey ordered him to carry some presents and his ambassador to Constantinople. Bainbridge at first refused. The Dey was highly indignant, "You pay me tribute," said he, "by which you become my slaves, and therefore I have the right to order you as I think proper." However, as he was exposed to the guns of the castle and batteries, and learning that English, French, and Spanish ships of war had submitted to similar impositions, Bainbridge thought it more prudent to comply with the arrogant demand, hoping at some future time to avenge the indignity thus offered his country's flag. In closing his report to the Navy Department, he wrote, "I hope I will never again be sent to Algiers with tribute unless I am authorized to deliver it from the mouth of our cannon." Sept. 1803.

As these depredations continued, and, while the tribute became more and more onerous, a squadron, under Commodore Preble, was sent to capture the pirates and blockade the harbor of Tripoli. The frigate Philadelphia, commanded by Bainbridge, when chasing an Algerine cruiser, ran upon a sunken rock near the shore. While thus disabled, Tripolitan gun-boats captured her after a contest, which lasted an entire day. Bainbridge and his crew of three hundred men, were made prisoners, and treated as slaves, for whom an exorbitant ransom was demanded.

Finding means, however, to communicate with the American squadron, he suggested the possibility of burn-

CHAP. XLI. ing the Philadelphia, as she lay moored under the guns of the castle. Lieutenant Decatur volunteered to act on
1804. the suggestion. A small Tripolitan trader had been captured a few days before. This vessel, now named the Intrepid, was selected for the enterprise. With a crew of seventy-six chosen men—all volunteers—Decatur sailed on his perilous undertaking. Combustibles were prepared in bundles, and to each man was assigned his particular duty.

1804. Passing into the harbor, they approached the Philadelphia about midnight. When hailed, the interpreter answered they were traders, who had lost their anchor in the late gale, and begged permission to make fast to the frigate till morning. The request was granted, and the Intrepid slipped alongside. Suddenly the Turks noticed that she had her anchors, and gave the alarm, shouting
Feb. 16. "Americanos." In a moment more, Decatur and his brave companions clambered up one side of the vessel, while the panic-stricken Turks, after slight resistance, as rapidly passed over the other into the water. The faggots were handed up, and carried to every part of the ship, and in thirty minutes she was on fire from stem to stern. So dry had the vessel and the rigging become in that warm climate, that with difficulty the Americans escaped the flames. When clear of the frigate cheers of triumph told that the daring attempt had been successful. The flames soon lighted up the harbor; the castle opened with its guns upon the Intrepid, which, urged on by the rowers, was rapidly passing out of danger. Soon the guns of the burning frigate began to explode and throw their shot in all directions. This was one of the boldest enterprises ever undertaken by our naval heroes.

The squadron continued to blockade the harbor of Tripoli, and during the following summer bombarded the town. The contest was severe, and there was much hand-to-hand fighting on board gun-boats. Intelligence came

that other vessels were on their way, and a further attack was postponed. Before the arrival of this reinforcement the Bashaw came to terms, and desired to make peace; other causes aided in hastening this event. He had driven his elder brother, Hamet, into exile, and usurped his throne. Captain William Eaton, American Consul at Tunis, concerted measures with the exiled brother to drive the usurper from Tripoli. With four hundred troops, only nine of whom were Americans, Eaton and Hamet marched a thousand miles across the Libyan desert, and suddenly appeared before Derne, which place, with the aid of the American fleet, they captured in a few days. The Bashaw sent troops against the invaders; these troops were also defeated, then to save himself he made proposals to negotiate. Peace was concluded by Lear, the American consul at Tripoli, but not on as favorable terms as justice demanded. After an exchange of prisoners, man for man, there still remained two hundred Americans; for these a heavy ransom was paid, thus conceding the point in dispute, that the Bashaw had a right to receive ransoms for prisoners taken by his pirates. CHAP. XLI. 1804. 1805. June 3.

Jefferson was re-elected President, and, instead of Burr, George Clinton, of New York, Vice-President. Burr's intrigues had become known to both parties, and he experienced the just fate of the insincere—he was suspected by all, and trusted by none. Rejected by his own State, his political prospects ruined, and overwhelmed by debts, the result of unsuccessful speculations, his cold and unrelenting spirit panted for revenge. He looked upon the influence of Alexander Hamilton, as one cause of his political failure. To retrieve his political fortunes Burr was willing to risk his own life, if he could but kill the man whose patriotism and integrity he well knew, and whose influence he dreaded. He laid his plans to force Hamilton into a duel. They met on the banks of the Hudson, opposite New York, Hamilton previously de- 1805.

CHAP. XLI. claring that to fight a duel was contrary to his judgment and his sense of moral duty; that he wished Burr no ill,
1804. and should make no effort to injure him. Burr took deliberate aim, and Hamilton was mortally wounded; as
July 11. he fell his own pistol went off accidentally. When the surgeon approached he said, "Doctor, this is a mortal wound." In twenty-four hours he was no more. Thus fell one of the brightest intellects, and purest, self-sacrificing patriots of the country—a victim to an unchristian custom, the relic of a barbarous age. His loss to the country was second only to that of Washington.

The most imposing funeral ceremony the city ever saw revealed the depth of feeling in the public mind. Presently the correspondence between the parties was published; this made known the designing manner in which Hamilton had been entrapped, and the disclosure produced in the public mind still greater indignation against Burr. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of wilful murder against him. Fearful of violence he was fain to conceal himself for a few days in New York, and then to flee to Philadelphia, and finally to Georgia, until, as he expressed it, "the storm would blow over."

The sacrifice of a man so eminent, merely to appease the honor of a consummate villain, turned the minds of the people more directly to the moral turpitude, as well as the absurdity of the custom of duelling. Public opinion on this subject became, henceforth, embodied in laws, which soon banished the custom from some of the States, and eventually it was excluded from all the States and from the District of Columbia.

The remaining history of Aaron Burr may be told in a few words. His intriguing and restless nature impelled
1805. him to other enterprises. The year following the death of Hamilton he went west. That section of the country contained many turbulent spirits, and had, moreover, manifested much dissatisfaction with the General Govern-

ment. It was thought Burr had some designs for his own aggrandizement; either to seize upon New Orleans and draw off the people of the valley of the Mississippi from their allegiance to the Union, or to make a foray into Mexico, overturn the existing government, and put himself at the head of the one he should establish. His mysterious movements from place to place, and the hints concerning his projects, which he threw out to those whom he wished to enlist, excited the suspicion of the federal government. After being permitted to plan and counter-plan for a year or more, he was finally arrested and brought to trial. But so cunningly had he managed the affair, that no decisive proof could be obtained of his designs. After a prolonged trial, he was acquitted of the charge of treason against the United States. 1807. Feb.

CHAP. XLI. 1805.

Though acquitted by the jury, public opinion treated him as guilty. Turned upon the world a penniless wanderer, suspected everywhere, even in foreign lands, where he lived in the greatest povery, a pensioner upon the pittance doled out by a few friends. Ordered out of England as a French spy, and treated in France as a British emissary; finally, he returned home, to find his family ties all broken, his daughter, an only and beloved child, having, under trying circumstances, recently perished at sea.

He made no advances to renew former friendships or acquaintance, and would gladly have shunned the public gaze, but he was compelled in his old age to resume the practice of the law as a means of support. With a ban resting upon him, he went down in loneliness to the grave, in his eighty-first year—a melancholy instance of prostituted talents. 1836.

The country continued to be very prosperous; the public expenses were lessened, and the finances were leaving every year an increasing surplus; the belligerents

CHAP. XLI. 1805. in Europe had not yet interfered much with American commerce, the great source of the federal revenue. The facilities for making money exchanges afforded by the banks had a beneficial effect upon the internal trade of the country. The exportation of domestic produce had tripled in value since the adoption of the Constitution, amounting to forty-two millions. There was also a rapidly-increasing, and immensely profitable trade in the import and export of foreign merchandise, exclusively for the supply of foreign nations. Internal improvements were not overlooked, and companies were formed for the construction of roads and bridges, and others for insurance.

Washington and Adams, in their administrations, both endeavored to place the force of the country on a footing to command the respect of other nations. Hence they strongly urged the creation of a navy to protect American commerce, and the policy of fortifying important places along the coast. But Jefferson looked upon this as a useless expense. He would prefer to have the public ships hauled out of harm's way into harbors; instead of prosecuting trade upon the ocean, where a cruiser of one of the belligerents might occasionally search a vessel for goods contraband of war, he would lay an embargo, and cut off all trade. Harbor fortifications were subjected to the same policy, falsely named economical; gun-boats were to take the place of other defences. Even the frames of the six ships of the line, commenced by the previous administration, were cut up to make gun-boats.

For more than six years not a single vessel was added to the navy, though there were indications that war might speedily occur. The hostility in Congress to that branch of the service was confined principally to the southern members. It was avowed that in case of war it would be good policy to abandon the harbors and sea-coast, and retire into the interior; that it would be better to give up commerce altogether than protect it by a navy.

CHAP. XLI.

The war between France and England had driven from the ocean all the merchant vessels of those nations. This trade passed into the hands of neutrals, the United States securing much the largest share. 1806.

The cruisers of the belligerent powers continued to infringe upon the rights of the neutrals. The battle of Trafalgar annihilated the fleets of Spain and France. The dread of French cruisers had passed away; and the British merchants began to complain of the vast profits made by the Americans in the neutral trade, whose emoluments they wished to secure to themselves. It was suspected that the vast amount of property carried by the Americans did not belong to them, but that it was taken to a neutral port merely to acquire a neutral character, and then transhipped to the ports belonging to those nations which were at war,—a charge no doubt true in many instances. On this ground American vessels were seized and condemned.

The English government passed a decree which declared the coast of Europe from the mouth of the river Elbe to Brest, to be in a state of blockade;—thus forbidding neutrals to trade within these prescribed limits. May. Napoleon, unable to contend with England upon the ocean, now issued the famous Berlin decree, which declared the coast of Great Britain to be in a state of blockade. In addition, he prohibited all trade in English merchandise. Nov. 21. Two months later, Great Britain forbade all trade with France whatever. Thus these two nations wantonly disregarded the interests and rights of the commerce of the world. Both French and British cruisers, now captured American trading ships, and the commerce which extended to every sea, gradually dwindled down to a coasting trade. Owing to the government's policy—fondly cherished as the very essence of economy—the commerce of the nation was left to the tender mercies of ocean despots; there was no navy to give it protection,

CHAP. XLI. 1806.

except a few redoubtable gun-boats, that lay in the harbors, patiently waiting for the audacious cruisers to come within their range.

The condemnation of vessels taken by foreign crusiers, and the forfeiture of their cargoes to the amount of millions, caused an intense excitement among American merchants. In all the seaport towns, especially, meetings were held to express the views of the people, and petitions asking protection, poured into Congress. These petitions only produced a recommendation of the President to that body to build more gun-boats. Is it strange the policy, which neglected the mercantile interests of the country, should be contrasted with the profusion in which money was spent to purchase territory, and to liquidate Indian claims? Said one party, it is folly to provide a navy, which, in case of war, will fall into the hands of the British. The hardy seamen answered, give us the men-of-war well armed, and we will see that they do not fall into the hands of the enemy. Will not the same energy and spirit, which has extended American commerce to the ends of the earth, defend its interests, and maintain the honor of the country? In John Adams' administration, Congress brought to terms the French cruisers on American commerce; it gave the merchants liberty to protect themselves, and they did it,—why not grant the same permission now?

To these complaints were added others equally as serious. The British government maintained the doctrine that no subject could expatriate himself, or transfer his allegiance to another country. The United States government maintained the reverse, and welcomed emigrants from other nations, and as adopted citizens afforded them protection. The commanders of British men-of-war were accustomed to board American merchant vessels, on the high seas, and search for deserters, as they termed

those English or Irish sailors, who had thus entered the American service. CHAP. XLI.

In these impressments great numbers of native born Americans were forcibly seized and consigned to the slavery of a British man-of-war. These high-handed measures, executed in an arrogant manner by the English officers, produced throughout the land a feeling of bitter hostility to England. The English government gave as an apology for these impressments, that in her present struggle she needed all her seamen, and if permission were given, they nearly all would desert, and enter American ships. England herself was to blame for this want of patriotism in her seamen. The iron hand of unfeeling rule had driven these men from her service; her cruel press-gangs had crushed out their love of home. They had been seized when unprotected and hurried on board men-of-war, where brutal severities had obliterated their nobler feelings. Thus wantonly treated, the English seaman deserted whenever he had the opportunity. 1806.

Events were evidently tending toward a war, to avoid which the President sent William Pinckney, as joint commissioner with James Monroe, who was already minister at the court of St. James. The English commissioners manifested a great desire not to impress American seamen, but to redress, as speedily as possible, any mistake of that character. They urged, that to relinquish the right of search for deserters, would be ruinous to the English navy in time of war. Suggesting, also, that stringent laws should be made by both nations, to prevent seamen from passing from the service of the one to the other. The prejudices of the English people would not permit, at least for the present, any formal relinquishment of the right of impressment; the commissioners further promised, that strict orders should be issued to the naval commanders not to abuse the right. April.

With the understanding that the question of impress-

CHAP. XLI. ments was still open, and subject to future adjustment, a treaty for ten years was negotiated between the two
1807. Jan. countries. This treaty was more advantageous, upon the whole, to the United States, than the one negotiated by Jay, and was certainly better than the existing irritating relations of the two governments. France at this time, by virtue of the Berlin decree, continued to seize and confiscate American property, while Great Britain was anxious to be on as good terms with the United States as her situation would permit. Yet the President, and
Mar. Madison, his Secretary of State, arbitrarily rejected the treaty, without either consulting the rest of the cabinet, or the Senate which was in session. The plea given for this extraordinary act was, that the treaty was not satisfactory on the impressment question. The rejection of the treaty left the relations of the two countries in a worse condition than ever, even endangering their peace. Washington and his cabinet, in ratifying the Jay treaty, secured to the country thirteen years of peace and unexpected prosperity; the rejection of this treaty was succeeded by four years of ruinous evils, which resulted in plunging the nation into a war. Though the English government itself was disposed to conciliate, and friendly in its expressions, yet its naval commanders were exceedingly insolent in their intercourse with the Americans. The inability of the navy to maintain the nation's honor, tempted these unscrupulous commanders to insult its flag. Thus far they had confined their visits to merchantmen, presently they went a step farther.

The United States frigate Chesapeake, of thirty-eight guns, had enlisted four men who, it was said, were deserters from the British ship-of-war Melampus. It was afterward proved that only one of them was an Englishman. Strict orders had been issued by the government to the recruiting officers not to enlist British subjects, knowing them to be such.

Several English men-of-war were, at this time, lying in Chesapeake Bay; of the number was the frigate Leopard, of fifty guns. When it was known that the Chesapeake was about to put to sea, the Leopard passed out a few hours before, and when some miles from the coast, she neared and hailed the Chesapeake, under the pretense of sending despatches to Europe. A lieutenant came on board with a demand for the English seamen. June 22. Commodore Barron refused the demand, on the ground there were no such men on board. This refusal brought a broadside from the Leopard, which killed three men and wounded eighteen others. As the attack was entirely unexpected, and Barron unprepared, he struck his colors, after firing a single gun. The four men were taken from the Chesapeake, and the Leopard passed on to Halifax, while the Chesapeake returned to Norfolk, her crew deeply mortified and thirsting for revenge.

The indignation of the whole people was intense. The insults of impressing men from merchantmen were as nothing, compared with firing into a national vessel. The President immediately issued a proclamation, in July 2. which he complained of the outrage, and ordered the British men-of-war out of the American waters, but as he had not the power to enforce the order it was disobeyed, and the people were enjoined not to have intercourse with the British vessels. He also called a special session of Congress, and a messenger was sent to England, with instructions to the American minister to demand satisfaction for the outrage. But a fast-sailing vessel had already left Halifax with the intelligence. The British government immediately disavowed the act, and sent, soon after, a special messenger to arrange the difficulty.

In the mean while France and England vied with each other in issuing and enforcing decrees, which, in their effect, would ruin all neutral commerce. English Orders in Council required any vessel bound to a port in France Nov.

CHAP. XLI. to touch at some English port, and there obtain a license to proceed on the voyage. Any vessel that did not com-
1807. ply with this despotic decree was forbidden to export French merchandise, unless the cargo was first brought to an English port and paid duties before it was shipped to
Dec. a neutral country. A month later Bonaparte retaliated by another decree, dated at Milan, by which every vessel that complied with the British decree, was declared to be forfeited. Thus American commerce was preyed upon by both parties.

As a scheme of retaliation, and to bring the belligerents to terms, Congress, on the recommendation of the
Dec. President, laid an embargo, which prohibited American commerce with France and England. A measure lauded by its advocates as the only means to save to their country American seamen and cargoes, and at the same time compel France and England to repeal their offensive de-
Nov. crees. The effect, however, was just the reverse. Bonaparte was delighted with the embargo, because it diminished just so much of England's income, her means to carry on the war against himself; on the other hand, Great Britain was not dependent on American produce, the trade to Spain and Portugal, and their colonies, had both been recently opened to her merchants, who were very willing that their enterprising rivals should remain at home to experiment on political theories. The embargo itself was exceedingly unpopular in the United States. The intelligent portion of the people was unable to see what benefit could be derived from their ships rotting in the ports, their seamen out of employment, the industry of the country prostrated, and the millions of surplus property now worthless for want of a market.

Some years before Jefferson had expressed the sentiment that the United States "should practise neither commerce nor navigation, but stand with respect to Eu-

rope precisely on the footing of China." Had the people submitted implicitly to the embargo, the system of non-intercourse with other nations would have been complete; as it was, on the recommendation of the Executive, Congress found it necessary to pass stringent laws to enforce its observance. The President was authorized to call out the militia and employ ships as revenue cutters to prevent cargoes of American produce leaving the country. When it became known that this enforcing act had really become a law, public feeling, in many places, could be no longer restrained. Many of the papers announced its passage in mourning columns, under the motto, "Liberty is dead." General Lincoln, of revolutionary memory, resigned the collectorship of the port of Boston rather than enforce the law; and great numbers of custom-house officers in other places did the same. In the agricultural portions of the country, the effect of the embargo was not so immediate as in the commercial. The planters and farmers, implicitly trusting in the wisdom of the Executive, stored up their cotton, tobacco and grain, hoping for a market when the belligerents would be pleased to repeal their hostile decrees.

Some good grew out of this evil. The tens of thousands thrown out of employment by the effect of the embargo and kindred measures, were compelled by the iron hand of necessity to seek a livelihood by other means, and their attention was somewhat directed to domestic manufactures.

Opposition to the embargo still continued; in Congress violent debates were held from day to day upon the exciting topic. At length even the planters and farmers began to waver in their faith, and to see as well as the New Englanders that it was a futile measure; that instead of bringing the French and English to terms it was the subject of their ridicule, while it was becoming more and more ruinous to the nation.

CHAP. XLI. 1807.

Madison, who had been elected President, plainly intimated his wish that the obnoxious measure should, in some way, be got rid of; and three days before the close of Jefferson's term the arbitrary act, forced upon the country without a moment's warning, and which brought ruin upon thousands in loss of property and of employment, was, to the joy of the nation, repealed.

Thus drew to a close Jefferson's administration. His theories interfered with his statesmanship, and he was unable to see that non-importation acts, so effective in times of colonial dependence, were, in the case of an independent nation, futile in the extreme, and therefore his favorite measure to bring England and France to terms was the embargo.[1] No one of our Presidents of Revolutionary fame was so unfortunate in his management of national affairs, and as such no statesman of those times has been so much overrated. When about to retire from the office he was deeply mortified to find that his well-meant theories, of which he was so tenacious, were found wanting when reduced to practice. When Madison was elected his successor, "he hastened to throw on him the burden of responsibility, and withdrew himself from all but the formalities of administration." "He laid down the sceptre; he had no party; Virginia herself ceased to be guided by his opinions."[2] Said John Randolph, one of his supporters, "Never has there been any administration which went out of office and left the nation in a state so deplorable and calamitous." His timid and, as it turned out, his spurious peace policy so weakened the Navy that it became nearly useless: while the coast defenses, as a result of the same theories, became almost dismantled.[3] The measures which he persistently urged, and his adherents, with implicit faith in his wisdom, carried through Congress, rendered the nation contemptible in the eyes of the belligerents of Europe.

[1] Hist. pp. 612, 613. [2] Life of Gallatin (Adams), pp. 379, 380.
[3] Hist. pp. 606-608.